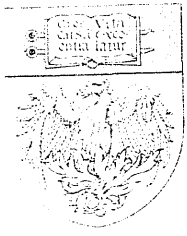
L 22

L.N.

The University of Chicago
Libraries



A HISTORY OF MORAVIAN MISSIONS

BY

J. E. HUTTON, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH;
FIRE AND SNOW; LIFE OF JOHN CENNICK;
THE DOWNFALL OF SATAN.

WITH MAPS.

MORAVIAN PUBLICATION OFFICE,
32, FETTER LANE, LONDON, E.C. 4.

BV 2560
.W4

TO

A. E. H.

728345

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BOOK I. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PIONEERS, 1700-1800	3
BOOK II. THE BUILDERS, 1800-1914 . . .	207
BOOK III. THE MODERN ADVANCE, 1848-1914	321
BOOK IV. METHODS, MEASURES AND IDEALS	463
EPILOGUE: BY BISHOP ARTHUR WARD . .	503
APPENDIX	515
ERRATA	531
INDEX	533

LIST OF MAPS.

1. North American Indian Mission - facing p. 80.
2. Eastern Hemisphere; shewing Moravian fields or efforts in Europe, Africa, Australia, Palestine, Persia, India, Ceylon, Nicobar Islands, and Western Tibet - facing p. 160.
   Inset: detailed map of South Africa.
3. West Indies and Central America - facing p. 208.
4. Western Hemisphere; shewing stations in Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, California, Surinam, Demerara - - - facing p. 321.
5. North Queensland - - - - - facing p. 416.
6. Tanganyika Territory, Nyassa - facing p. 440.
7. Tanganyika Territory, Unyamwezi facing p. 456.

The maps are printed on the following principle:—

Existing settlements or mission-stations, red.
Former mission fields or stations, blue.
Missions temporarily abandoned, green.
All other places, black.

PREFACE.

For assistance in the task of writing this History—a task undertaken at the request of the British Province of the Moravian Church—I am much indebted to several friends, and to each of these I herewith tender my thanks. Bishop Arthur Ward revised the proofs, made many useful suggestions, and supplied me with invaluable information. Bishop H. R. Mumford read the MS., and suggested needful emendations; and two other members of the Provincial Mission Board, the Rev. J. N. Libbey, M.A., and the Rev. H. J. Wilson, B.A., drew my attention to certain points of detail. Dr. Heber, who is now at Leh, read the chapter on Western Tibet. The Rev. Lorenzo Taylor, formerly a missionary in Nicaragua, read the chapter on that field. The Rev. T. L. Clemens, who has recently retired from Tobago, read some of the sections on the West Indies. Dr. S. K. Hutton read the first draft of the chapters on Labrador. Mr. E. Hutton, B.A., helped me to prepare the maps. Mr. F. T. Mann, B.A., corrected the proofs. The Rev. J. Connor, B.D.,

corrected the proofs and prepared the Index. The Rev. C. J. Klesel helped me to obtain valuable historical material.

As these pages pass through the press, many British Moravians are shewing a renewed interest in Moravian Missions; and, if this volume deepens that interest, one purpose for which it has been written will have been accomplished.

Dublin, December, 1922.

BOOK I.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PIONEERS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	THE DREAMER, 1700-31	3
2.	THE VOICE IN THE NIGHT, 1731-2 . .	15
3.	THE DANISH WEST INDIES, 1736-82 . .	24
4.	THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, 1754-1800 ,	50
5.	GREENLAND, 1733-74	57
6.	THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1734-1808	78
7.	THE SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1735-1808	117
8.	THE BUSH NEGROES OF SURINAM, 1765-1813	121
9.	SOUTH AFRICA: THE HOTTENTOTS, 1736-44	126
10.	LABRADOR, 1752-1804	131
11.	THE JEWS, 1738-42	146
12.	THE FLYING SCOUTS, 1734-1822. . . .	155
13.	ZINZENDORF AS MISSIONARY LEADER, 1731-60	167
14.	THE COUNT'S SUCCESSORS, 1760-1800. .	187

A

HISTORY OF MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DREAMER, 1700—1731.

Among the historic buildings in England, few are of greater interest to Moravians than that thrice famous house at Kettering where, on October 2nd, 1792, William Carey, one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society, flung down on the parlour table some numbers of a missionary magazine entitled *Periodical Accounts*, and, addressing twelve other Baptist ministers, exclaimed: "See what these Moravians have done"; and my first duty in this book will be to shew how much Carey meant by that oft-quoted remark. What, then, when Carey spoke, had the Moravian missionaries done? How long had they been engaged at their task? What Gospel had they preached? What methods had they employed? Which countries had they visited? And how much success had they achieved? Let us haste at once to the fountain-head, and follow the romantic story of the eighteenth century pioneers.

For the origin of Moravian Missions we must turn both to a man and to a well-known religious movement. The man was Count Zinzendorf, the renewer of the Moravian Church, and described by a modern writer as the "Father of Modern Missions."† The religious movement is generally known as Pietism; and the key to this chapter will be found in the fact that while Zinzendorf founded Moravian Missions,

†Miss Brain, Missionary Review of the World, 1900, p. 329.

while he gave the first missionaries their instructions, and while he managed the whole enterprise down to his closing days, yet, on the other hand, he was brought up in Pietist missionary circles, studied Pietist ideals, learned from Pietist teachers, and both adopted and adapted Pietist methods of work. In Count Zinzendorf we find the leader; in the Pietist Movement his environment; and in certain Moravians his first recruits.

1704-10 The story opens in his childhood. For about six years Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, who was born at Dresden on Ascension Day, May 26th, 1700, resided in his grandmother's castle in the little village of Gross-Hennersdorf in Saxony; and though that castle is now a partial ruin, the visitor is still shewn the window from which the boy threw letters addressed to Christ. There, in his grandmother's beautiful home, the child, trained by Pietist teachers, learned not only to love the Lord Christ, but even to worship Him as God; there, on more than one occasion, he met the great Pietist leader, Philip Spener; and there, at what we should call a drawing-room meeting, he first heard the glorious news which made him a missionary zealot. At a meeting held some years later in Fetter Lane, London (August 31st, 1753), Zinzendorf told the story himself to a congregation of English Moravians, and the curious feature of his narrative is that, while he remembered the day and the hour, he was not quite sure of the year. "I know," he said, "the day, the hour, the spot in Hennersdorf. It was in the Great Room; the year was 1708 or 1709; I heard items read out of the paper about the East Indies, before regular reports were issued; and there and then the first missionary impulse arose in my soul." We have come to the fountain-head of Moravian Missions.

According to Count Zinzendorf himself, whose

evidence on this point is unimpeachable, his interest in Foreign Missions was first aroused by the story of certain exploits in the East Indies; and now we must ask to what precisely he referred. There cannot be the least doubt about the answer. Among the more enlightened Protestants in Germany—those, that is, who had studied the works of Baron von Weltz, the missionary—the most enthusiastic were the Pietists; the founder of the movement, Philip Spener, was a frequent visitor at Gross-Hennersdorf Castle; and the work to which Count Zinzendorf referred was a certain Danish mission in the East Indies manned by Spener's colleague, August Hermann Francke. In those days Francke was undoubtedly the greatest missionary leader in the world; and no one exercised a deeper influence over Zinzendorf's mind. By this time Francke had already accomplished wonders. By reading Leibnitz's missionary treatise, *Novissima Linica*, Francke became convinced that one of the chief duties of the Church was to preach the Gospel to the heathen; soon afterwards (1701) he himself wrote a treatise containing an elaborate scheme for a Universal Mission College; and then, seizing the first chance that came, he supplied the three men—Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Henry Plütschau, and Gründler—sent out to the East Indies by Dr. Lütken, founder of the Danish College of Missions. For our purpose this Mission—begun at Tranquebar in 1706—is of fundamental importance. At the very time when Count Zinzendorf was living at Gross-Hennersdorf Castle, these three men were sowing the seed on the Coromandel coast; by the aid of the English East India Company, letters, forwarded free of charge, arrived at Gross-Hennersdorf Castle, describing the progress of the work; those letters were read aloud in the young Count's presence;

and thereby he first learned to take an intelligent interest in Foreign Missions. He was soon to hear far more from another source. He was soon to grasp the hands of the men themselves. We come to the second stage in his development.

1710 At the age of ten Count Zinzendorf was sent to Francke's school at Halle; that very year, as it happened, Francke published the first number of his little missionary magazine entitled, "History of the Evangelical Missions in the East for the Conversion of the Heathen."† During the whole of his six years at Halle (1710-16), Zinzendorf lived in a missionary atmosphere. His own account reads like an exaggeration. For the first two or three years of his stay at Halle, Zinzendorf, so far as I can discover, was still dependent for his knowledge of missions on written reports; he had not yet seen any missionaries; and yet he writes as though he had seen many. "In Francke's house," he says, "I had chances every day to hear edifying reports about the spread of the Kingdom of God, to speak with witnesses from foreign lands, to make the acquaintance of missionaries, and to see martyrs and prisoners; and all this strengthened my zeal for the cause of Christ." Let us now see how far this statement is true. With every allowance for exaggeration, it does at least contain a kernel of fact. In a letter to his Aunt Burgsdorf, dated November 14th, 1713, Zinzendorf distinctly mentions that for some time Henry Plütschau, one of the missionaries from Tranquebar, had been staying at Francke's house; Plütschau, he says, had brought with him a convert named Timothy; and the Count was so interested in Timothy that he actually asked his mother to send the young man a present. But the next event

†This is generally regarded as the first Missionary Magazine ever published. It continued in various forms till 1880.

was of far greater importance. During the greater part of 1715 all the three leading missionaries from Tranquebar, *i.e.*, Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Gründler, were home on furlough at Halle; every day these three men dined at Francke's house; and the Count, being a noble, enjoyed the same privilege. At the dinner table Zinzendorf sat between Francke and his wife; and opposite to him sat the three missionaries.

And now we come to the Count's first missionary act. Among his schoolboy friends at Halle the chief was Count Frederick de Watteville; Watteville, like Zinzendorf, sat at Francke's dining-table, and heard the three men from the East discourse; and one day the two boys, strolling beside the red palings outside the school, formed a solemn covenant. In his "Natural Reflections," Zinzendorf himself describes the covenant as follows:—"We resolved," he says, "to do all in our power for the conversion of the heathen, especially for those for whom no one else cared, and by means of men whom God, we believed, would provide." In those words we find the key to our story. The two boys had formed a threefold resolution. First, they resolved to further Missions; secondly, they would give their attention to despised and neglected races; and thirdly, if they could not go themselves, they would trust in God to find recruits. For the third resolution they have been severely blamed; and Ritschl, in his History of Pietism, says that Zinzendorf refused to become a missionary himself because he considered a missionary's work beneath the dignity of a lord. To that accusation, however, there are three answers. First, in 1716 Zinzendorf and Watteville both vowed to go to India themselves; secondly, Zinzendorf's guardian intervened, and compelled him, whatever his wishes, to study law

1715

at Wittenberg; and, thirdly, Zinzendorf afterwards said to Cardinal Noailles in Paris: "If God had chosen me for the office, I should be willing to run the risk of going abroad." The chief point to notice, however, is the origin of the covenant. On that point Zinzendorf's evidence is decisive. According to his own explicit statement, made at Fetter Lane, London, Watteville and he were influenced, not by reading books or hearing reports, but solely and entirely by the conversation of the three missionaries from Tranquebar. "We did not," he says, "come to our resolution by reading the Bible; nor by reading descriptions of journeys; nor even by reading reports that came to the Society through the English post. The men who moulded our conduct were these three apostles, Plütschau, Ziegenbalg, and Gründler. For nearly a year we dined with them daily; we even talked to them; and they gave us an idea of the work which we could never have obtained from mere reading." Nor was even this the full extent of the missionaries' influence. For us English readers the interesting point to notice is that, in 1710, two of those missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, were enrolled as corresponding members of the S.P.C.K. Each of these two missionaries came to London, and attended meetings of the Society; each, on his return to Halle, gave an account of his experiences; and, taking this English Society as a model, Zinzendorf, just before he left school, designed, though he did not yet actually establish, what was afterwards known as his "Order of the Mustard Seed."

Thus, at the early age of fifteen, Zinzendorf, inspired by the conversation of the three missionaries from Tranquebar, had not only begun to dream dreams, but had formed more or less definite plans for the conversion of the heathen. During the next

six years, however, he was unable to take any definite steps. At that time the prevailing opinion in Germany was that any attempt to convert the heathen was waste of time. His friend, Francke, was commonly regarded as a fanatic; most of the Lutheran clergy had little evangelical zeal; and one famous preacher, Ursinus, who seems to have been a popular type, expressed the opinion that the heathen did not possess immortal souls. "It is useless," he said, "to try to convert savages who have nothing human about them except the shape of their bodies. Such are the Greenlanders, the Lapps, the Samoyedes and the cannibals." Another eminent preacher, Neumeister, declared that Foreign Missions were unnecessary; and closed his sermon on Ascension Day, 1722, with the lines:—

> In former times 'twas rightly said,
> Go forth to every land;
> But now, where God hath cast your lot,
> There shall you ever stand.

In the Lutheran Church, therefore, Zinzendorf found but little support.

His first recruits came from another source. As soon as Zinzendorf had completed the education designed by his guardian—first at Wittenberg University and then by means of the usual grand tour—he took office, for the time being, as Aulic Councillor at Dresden; then (1722) he married his cousin, Erdmuth Dorothea, bought from his grandmother the estate of Berthelsdorf, ten miles from the Bohemian frontier, installed his friend, John Andrew Rothe, as pastor, and devoted his leisure to the task of establishing a "Church within the Church" in the village; and, almost immediately after the purchase, he was informed by his steward that some persecuted Protestants from Moravia, 1722

led by Christian David, a carpenter, desired to settle on his estate. Without a thought of the future, Zinzendorf gave his consent. He had never heard of these Moravians before. For a hundred years the brave descendants of the old Bohemian Brethren had held the faith of their fathers in the Kineland of Moravia. They had buried their Bibles in their gardens, had held their meetings at midnight in garrets and stables, had preserved their records in dovecots and in the thatched roofs of their cottages, and had feasted on the glorious promises of the Book of Revelation; and now, when persecution broke out afresh, they bade farewell to their ancient homes, left their goods and chattels behind them, and built on Zinzendorf's estate the far-famed settlement of Herrnhut. In these men, though he knew it not, Zinzendorf was soon to find his first missionaries to the heathen. From Senftleben came Christian David, one of the first missionaries to Greenland; from Sehlen, the Neissers, some of whom preached to the Indians; from Zauchtenthal the Nitschmanns and David Zeisberger, the great apostle to the Indians; from Kunewalde, George Schmidt, the first missionary to South Africa, and Frederick Böhnisch, another Greenland pioneer; and from Mankendorf, Matthew Stach, the founder of the Greenland Mission. It is simply amazing how events turned out. At the time not one of these men had the least idea of becoming a foreign missionary. For that task, however, no men could be better fitted. Each had the blood of martyrs in his veins; each had learned to suffer for his faith. Some had been chilled to the neck in wells; some had been yoked with oxen to the plough; some had lain in dungeons swarming with vermin. For the sake of Christ they had left all behind them; for the sake of Christ they were

soon to march beneath the banner of the Cross.

Meanwhile, another force was at work. In addition to providing a home for the emigrants from Moravia, Zinzendorf gave a welcome to other persecuted Protestants from various parts of Germany; among these were a few Schwenkfelders, Evangelicals from Swabia, and Pietists from the immediate neighbourhood; and some of these last, in due time, became Moravian missionaries. From Münchroth, in Würtemberg, *e.g.*, came Leonard Dober, the first missionary in St. Thomas; from Pommerschwitz, in Upper Silesia, Dober's great successor, Frederick Martin; from Wernigerode, Louis Dähne, afterwards a missionary in Surinam; from a village near Löbschutz, in Upper Silesia, John Beck, a well-known leader in Greenland; and from Grabow, in Brandenburg, Solomon Schumann, the Apostle to the Arawacks. Thus did two streams meet at Herrnhut to form the broad river of Moravian Missions; and therefore, in Zinzendorf's missionary army, we find two distinct elements. One part consisted of descendants of the old Moravian Church; the other consisted chiefly of Pietists; and the two formed a powerful combination. The Moravians were stern and laid the chief stress on ethics; the Pietists were more evangelical and sentimental; and some time elapsed before the two elements could be thoroughly fused.

It was here that Zinzendorf shewed his organizing genius. For two or three years there existed at Herrnhut a considerable amount of ill-feeling between the Moravians and the Lutherans; and Zinzendorf, acting as mediator, not only changed the duel into a duet, but organized the whole community into an efficient fighting force. His process of training lasted four years; and during those four years he employed four methods. First, to teach the settlers 1727-31

obedience, he persuaded them to sign their names to a number of Statutes, known as the Brotherly Agreement (July 4th, 1727); secondly, to teach them Christian charity, he invited them to a Holy Communion in Berthelsdorf Parish Church, and there the Brethren were all so filled with the Spirit that that day (August 13th, 1727) was justly regarded as the spiritual birthday of the renewed Moravian Church; thirdly, he deepened their spiritual experience by means of Bands, Classes, Hourly Intercessions, Singing Meetings, and the Daily Watchword; and fourthly, and above all, he not only sent some of the settlers on reconnoitring expeditions to England, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, Moravia, and the Baltic Provinces, but also, in connexion with these expeditions, established a monthly Missionary Prayer Day. Meanwhile, his missionary schemes took definite form. In 1727 he wrote to the Danish Court and offered to send Moravian Missionaries to Greenland; in 1728, on the first Prayer Day, February 10th, he propounded plans for preaching the Gospel in the West Indies, Greenland, Turkey, and Lapland; and next day, February 11th, led by one Leonard Dober, twenty-six young men made a League and Covenant to respond to the first clear sound of the bugle call. In those twenty-six men we find the vanguard of the great Moravian missionary army. During the next four years they
1728-32 endeavoured to prepare themselves for the mighty task. Each evening, after a hard day's work in the open air, they met in a common room and studied medicine, geography, and languages; sometimes Zinzendorf himself gave them lectures on Church history; and standing on the Pisgah heights of hope, they declared that they desired to be ready when the blessed time should come. At the monthly Prayer Day, Zinzendorf was at his best. Sometimes he

read out a piece of news in vivid dramatic style; sometimes he read a letter from a travelling brother; sometimes he introduced a visitor from Denmark or Lapland; and sometimes, on the spur of the moment, he even composed and sang a missionary hymn.

For the history of modern Protestant Missions, the importance of these events can hardly be over-estimated. In one sense Zinzendorf's work may be called unique. By means of the foregoing methods he changed a band of refugees into a missionary army; and history, says Dr. Bernhard Becker, supplies no similar example. The change at Herrnhut was wonderful. In bidding farewell to their ancient homes, the emigrants had merely sought a city of refuge, and their marching song contained the lines:—

> Himself will lead me to a spot
> Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,
> I shall enjoy sweet rest.

But now the Count had given them a new ideal. In the past they had longed for peace and quiet; now they were eager to face

> Strange scenes, strange men, untold, untried success;
> Pain, hardships, famine, cold, and nakedness.

Behind them lay the Moravian dales and the cleft defiles of the Saxon Switzerland; before them, dreary frozen shores and palmy islands set in summer seas. The Count had found his men, and the men had found their calling.

Let us pause to glance at the chain of cause and effect. It is a curious fact that Moravian Missions can be traced to the example of the Jesuits. On his visit to Rome, the philosopher Leibnitz met some Jesuit missionaries who had worked at Pekin. Inspired by their zeal, he wrote his missionary treatise *Novissima Linica*; this treatise opened

Francke's eyes; Francke inspired the "three men to the East"; the three men stirred the zeal of the Count; and the Count trained the refugees at Herrnhut.

NOTE.—Was, then, the zeal of the first Moravian missionaries due entirely, humanly speaking, to the influence of Zinzendorf? One other influence has, of course, been suggested. In his "History of the Moravian Church during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Bishop J. T. Hamilton points out (p. 50) that Bishop John Amos Comenius, in his "Judicium duplex de regula fidei" (published 1644), declared that it was the duty of the Church to evangelize the heathen, and Comenius, he says, was also thinking of a mission to the Mahometans, and had planned the translation of the Scriptures into Turkish. Had Comenius, then, any influence over the settlers at Herrnhut? I fear not. For anything I know to the contrary, some of those settlers may conceivably have read his book. No proof to that effect, however, has as yet been discovered; and, if the settlers had not read the book, it cannot have influenced their conduct.

Chapter II.

THE VOICE IN THE NIGHT, 1731—1732.

As soon as the fighting force was ready, the marching order rang out. The next scene of the story is in Denmark. For some years Count Zinzendorf, who had a little royal blood in his veins, and claimed connexion with the Danish Royal Family, had lived on terms of friendship with Christian, the Danish Crown Prince. In 1730 this young man succeeded to the throne as Christian VI., and next year the Count was invited to be present at the Coronation at Copenhagen. The invitation caused him great perplexity. For some indefinable reason, he was afraid to go; yet, on the other hand, he hoped that if he presented himself at Court he might receive some official appointment which would aid him in his missionary plans; and, not being able to settle the question himself, he summoned a meeting of the Brethren, and put the matter to the vote. The number present at the meeting was fifty-seven. For the journey thirty-eight votes were cast; against it four; and the other Brethren declined to give an opinion. The Count consulted the Lot; the Lot said "Yes"; and, taking four Brethren with him, the Count set off for Copenhagen. "I have," he wrote in his diary, "a clear conviction that God has a secret purpose in this journey which will come to light in His own time." In a few days his premonitions were justified. At Copenhagen he met Count Laurwig, Master of the Horse. This man had in his service a negro-slave from St. Thomas, named Anthony Ulrich; and Anthony soon poured into Zinzendorf's ears a heart-rending tale about the slaves. He spoke of his own brother and sister,

1731

April 25th

Abraham and Anna, and of their keen desire to hear the Gospel.

"If only some missionaries would come," he said, "they would certainly be heartily welcomed. Many an evening have I sat on the shore and sighed my soul towards Christian Europe." To Zinzendorf this was a genuine message from God. Without the slightest hesitation, he arranged with Count Laurwig that Anthony might, a few weeks later, pay a visit to Herrnhut; then, on his own return to Herrnhut, he summoned the Brethren to a meeting, and repeated Anthony's tale (July 23rd); and that address stirred the soul of the first Moravian missionary to the heathen.

Again the effect was swift. That night another missionary star began to shine. As young Leonard Dober lay tossing on his couch his soul was sore distressed; and thinking about the benighted slaves of whom the Count had just spoken, he heard, he was sure, a stern Voice bid him rise and preach deliverance to the captives. "Thou art the chosen man for St. Thomas," it said. But whence the Voice came he could not surely say. On the one hand, it might be his own excited fancy; on the other, it might be the Voice of God. Again and again he heard the haunting words. With his mind still torn in twain he fell asleep. In the morning he consulted his Text Book; and opening it at
July 24th random, he read the message, "It is not a vain thing for you, because it is your life, and through this thing ye shall prolong your days. Deut. XXXII., 47." As these words, however, were not the text for the day, he could hardly take them as God's answer to his question; and he was, moreover, perfectly sure that if God had chosen him for the foreign field He would speak in still clearer tones. He determined to consult with his friend, Tobias Leupold. The

day faded, the evening fell, and the two young men, as their custom was, strolled together among the brushwood that fringed the City on the Hill. And then Leonard Dober laid bare his heart, and learned to his amazement that all that day Tobias had been in the same perplexing pass. Each had heard the same solemn Voice in the night: each had fought the same doubts: each had feared to speak his mind, and had wondered what the other would say; and now they looked into each other's eyes, knelt together in the gloaming, and, joining their trembling voices in prayer, asked to be guided aright. Sacred and glorious was the moment. As they rose from their knees they felt assured that the answer would soon be given.

Within half-an-hour it came. As soon as they had finished their conversation, they joined the rest of the Single Brethren: and the whole company, striking up a hymn, marched two-and-two past Zinzendorf's house. The Count was standing at the door, with his friend Melchior Schäfer, the Pastor of Görlitz, by his side; and just as the two young men drew near, he stepped forward and said: "Sir, among these young men there are missionaries to St. Thomas, Greenland, Lapland, and other countries."

At these words the hearts of Dober and Leupold bounded with secret joy. Next day (July 25th) they met again, and drafted the following letter.† It was the first offer for service in Moravian Missions. **July 25th**

PRIVATE.

To His Highness the Count.

MY DEAR COUNT,

I know that I may speak quite plainly to

†The German original, withered and yellow, lies to-day in the Herrnhut Archives.

you, and that you will not take it amiss if I tell you about an incident that occurred just after you told us about your journey. On that very evening it came home to Brother Leonard Dober that he must go to the slaves. (We did not meet, however, till yesterday evening.) "If only you are fit for the work," said he to himself, "you and Leupold must go." With this thought in his mind he fell asleep. No other Brother's name occurred to him. In the morning he woke up with the same idea. "You must now see," he said, "whether this is only fancy." With this intent he opened his Text Book, and read the text for August 3rd (Deut. xxxii., 47). He then resolved that he would consult with me, and that if I had the same idea he would consider the matter settled. In this way he would lay the case before God, and notice what occurred. In the evening we met and went together into the brushwood. He said he had something private to say to me, told me the whole story, and added that the matter had been on his mind all day. In reply, I said that the same thought had several times occurred to me, that the affair concerned us both, that I, too, as I was walking home, had resolved that if the Brethren called us both I could say nothing against it, and that I had thought of no colleague but him and no people but the slaves. It was this that impressed us so much: we had both had the same thought. No doubt to some all this will sound egotistical; but when we remember how our friendship began, what obstacles lay in the way, and how, if we had followed our natural feelings, we should never have come together at all, we feel that our action is justified, and can only be thankful for the favour God has shown us. Last night we had another encouraging experience,

I heard the words about Greenlanders and Laplanders, and resolved to write to you. I had no further chance of seeing Dober last night. To-day I saw him again and asked his opinion. He said he thought of suggesting himself that I should write to you. Dear Brother, please keep the matter private, think it over, and let us know your opinion. May the Lord lead us in the right path, rough though that path may be.

I remain, for ever,

Your obedient fellow-member,

TOBIAS LEUPOLD.

July 25th, 1731.

As soon as this modest proposal was ready, Leonard Dober slipped it into Zinzendorf's hands. The Count was charmed, discussed the project with them, and then, without revealing their names, read the letter to the congregation.

Four days later, July 29th, Anthony Ulrich arrived at Herrnhut. He had come at Zinzendorf's request. For the first time in the history of the Christian Church a negro slave from the West Indies stood up to address a congregation of orthodox Lutheran Protestants; and the chief burden of his message was that no one could possibly preach to the slaves unless he first became a slave himself. They had to work all day, he said, on the plantations; they had to slink off to their huts when the curfew sounded; they were not allowed to go out after sunset; and, therefore, no one could preach the Gospel to them unless he worked with them among the sugar canes. His speech made Dober and Leupold keener than ever. If they could only win one soul thereby, they were ready, they declared, to sell themselves

as slaves.† For a year the issue remained in doubt. With all their evangelistic zeal, the Brethren had common-sense. Some said that the offer was reckless and premature; some dubbed it "the pretty imagination of young officious minds"; and some even called it a bid for fame. For these doubts and fears the Brethren had their own reasons. They had heard of Egede's dismal failure in Greenland. As Egede, they said, was not only a scholar but a faithful preacher, it did not seem likely that, while he had failed, two ignorant mechanics would succeed. To these arguments, however, the Count had a convincing reply. He had studied Egede's methods; he could see why Egede had failed; he believed that if the Brethren tried a new method they would succeed; and in a letter to a friend in England he explained what that method was, and thereby made his first contribution to the Science of Foreign Missions. In that letter* we find the germ of all his later ideas. "You are not," he wrote, "to aim at the conversion of whole nations: you must simply look for seekers after the truth who, like the Ethiopian eunuch, seem ready to welcome the Gospel. Second, you must go straight to the point and tell them about the life and death of Christ. Third, you must not stand

†I must here correct a very widespread error. In an article in the *Hibbert Journal* (January, 1920), entitled "Is Christ Alive To-day?" (p. 368), Miss Constance Maynard says that some of the Moravian missionaries "voluntarily sold themselves as slaves to work with a gang in the cruel cotton plantations." This is not correct. No missionary ever became a slave. The truth is that, so far from being slaves, some of the missionaries, both in Surinam and in the West Indies, were compelled, much against their will, to become slave owners. They could find no other way of earning a living.

*Dated Herrnhut, April 12th, 1732; addressed, probably, to a member of the S.P.G. For the letter in full, see Büdingsche Sammlungen, Vol. III., p. 189.

aloof from the heathen, but humble yourself, mix with them, treat them as Brethren, and pray with them and for them." To Dober himself he talked in a similar strain. He encouraged him from the outset, defended him against his critics, took him with him on a trip to Thuringia, and gave him detailed instructions about his work. "What is it," he asked, "that the heathen know already? They know that there is a God (Rom. I., 19, 20); and, therefore, the man who tells them of God is simply wasting his time. What is it that they do not know? They do not know that Christ came into the world to save sinners; and, therefore, the missionary must always begin with the Gospel Message. And how is it that missionaries have failed in the past? They have failed because, instead of preaching Christ, they have given lectures on theology."

The effect on Dober was encouraging. In spite of the objections of his critics, he felt that he was called to a mighty task, and, therefore, he wrote another letter and re-stated his resolve (June 16th, 1732). **June 16th, 1732**
His plea was beautifully simple: "I know the grace of Christ myself, and I know that in St. Thomas there are slaves who cannot believe because they have not heard. If another Brother will go with me, I am ready to become a slave myself." The appeal went home, the Brethren yielded, and the matter appeared to be settled. But now, strange to say, the Count himself still doubted. For the second time he submitted a Foreign Mission issue to the Lot. "Are you willing," he said to Dober, "to consult the Saviour by means of the Lot?"

"For myself," replied Dober, "I am already sure enough, but I will do so for the sake of the Brethren."

A meeting was held (July 16th); a box of Scripture **July 16th**
passages was brought into the room; and Dober drew a slip bearing the words: "Let the lad go, for the

Lord is with him."† Thus was the final verdict given; and Dober made ready for his journey. But once again the Lot had to shape his plans. It decided, not only that Dober might go, but that his friend Leupold must stay at home. He chose another companion, David Nitschmann. As we look at the faces of those two pioneers, we see how two distinct movements had clasped hands at Herrnhut. The first, Dober, was a Lutheran from Würtemberg; the second, Nitschmann, was a Moravian from Zauchtenthal; and thus the two elements of which the Renewed Moravian Church was composed joined hands to begin the work of Foreign Missions. Let us not despise them as ignorant mechanics. Leonard Dober was only a potter; David Nitschmann was only a carpenter; and yet there were not two men in the world more fitted for their task. Each had a clear conception of the Gospel; each possessed the gift of ready speech; and each knew exactly what Gospel to preach. At an evening meeting (August 18th) the Brethren assembled to wish the two men God-speed; the feeling at Herrnhut was intense; and before the Brethren parted that night they sang about a hundred hymns. Among others they must have sung the following lines, written by Zinzendorf a few weeks before:—

"We will count our lives a treasure,
While reserved for His use,
But at His command, with pleasure
Wealth and life for Jesus lose."

Aug 21st, 1732 The birthday of Moravian Missions now arrived. At three o'clock in the morning (Thursday, August 21st, 1732) the two men stood waiting in front of Zinzendorf's house. The Count had spent some

†Not a text; there is no such text in the Bible.

hours that night in prayer and conversation with Dober. His carriage was waiting at the door; the grey of morning glimmered; and silence lay upon Herrnhut. Not a Brother or Sister was up to see these heroes set off. The Count took the reins and drove them as far as Bautzen. They alighted outside the sleeping town, knelt down on the quiet roadside and joined the Count in prayer. The Count laid his hands on Dober's head and blessed him. His last instructions were of a general nature. "Do all in the spirit of Jesus Christ,"† he said. He gave them a ducat apiece. The two heralds rose from their knees, bade the Count good-bye, and stepped out for Copenhagen.*

†In most histories of Moravian Missions it is stated that these were Zinzendorf's *only* instructions. The foregoing narrative shows that this is not true.

*The connexion of the Moravian Church with Denmark had another interesting result. Many of the early Moravian missionaries were Danes. The most important were:—(1) Labrador: Jens Haven, Drachart, Jensen, and Dr. Brasen; (2) Greenland: John Sörensen; (3) Tranquebar: Brodersen; (4) Danish West Indies: Heller, Matthiesen, Wied; (5) British West Indies: Bentien, Dehm, Adolph. Note, also, in the nineteenth century, Rasmus Schmidt, in Surinam, and Jean Paul Jürgensen on the Moskito Coast. Nor do even these facts complete the tale. As these pages are passing through the press, eight Danish missionaries are on their way to resume the work in Unyamwezi.

Chapter III.

THE DANISH WEST INDIES, 1736—1782.

1. The First Two Pioneers, 1732-4.

As the two pioneers set out on their journey they looked more like pedlars than preachers. They carried bundles on their backs; they wore brown cut-away coats and quaint three-cornered hats; and they had between them about thirty shillings in their pockets. With swinging strides they marched along. The pace was thirty or forty miles a day. From time to time they paid passing calls at the houses of Christian friends.

"Back! Back to Herrnhut," said the friends, "there is danger and death ahead."

But the Brethren had put their hands to the plough, and did not stay to argue. They were marching as volunteers of the Lutheran Church; they had Luther's mettle in their blood; and now, like Luther at the Diet of Worms, they answered: "We can no other: the will of the Lord must be done." From one friend only did they hear a word of cheer. At Wernigerode they called on the Countess of Stollberg. She gave them a pleasant surprise. She asked Dober how he felt when he left his father and mother, brought him a Halle box of texts, and asked him to draw one out. He drew the words from the forty-fifth Psalm: "Hearken, O Daughter, and consider and incline thine ear: forget also thine own people and thy father's house." The Countess was delighted. Once more the Voice of God was urging them onward. "Go then," she said, "and even if they kill you for the Saviour's sake, He is worth it all."

Sept. 15th They arrived a few days later at Copenhagen,

made their way to the Palace, presented their letters of introduction, and boldly announced their purpose. Their arrival created a sensation. Never, since the days of Hamlet, had such a brace of fools been seen in Denmark; by friend and foe alike they were laughed to scorn; and when they said that they were willing to work as slaves, they were told that they must be moonstruck. In vain they applied for a passage to the Directors of the Danish West Indian Company. The Directors flatly refused. "It is no use taking artisans to St. Thomas," they said; "there is nothing for artisans to do, and the two men would never be able to earn their living." Still worse, their old friend, Anthony Ulrich, now turned traitor. As soon as he saw which way the wind was blowing, he changed his tune, denied all that he had said about his brother Abraham and his sister Anna, declared that neither they nor any other slaves had the least desire to hear the Gospel, and joined with all the fine lords and ladies in denouncing the Brethren as fools.

Von Pless, the King's Chamberlain, raised a very serious difficulty. As the Brethren were not to be paid for preaching, von Pless could not understand how they would come by a living. They were not ordained; they could not be recognised as clergymen; and they had no Society behind them to supply the funds.

"How do you intend to earn your living?"

"As slaves among the slaves."

"But that is impossible," retorted Von Pless. "It will not be allowed. No white man ever works as a slave."

"Very well," replied Nitschmann, "I am a carpenter and will ply my trade."

"But what will the potter do?"

"I," said Nitschmann, "shall do work enough to

keep both. Besides," he added, "he will be able to help me a little."

At these words the Chamberlain was overcome with amazement. Such fine resolution he had never met before.

"Ha ! Ha ! That is something like," he exclaimed. "At this rate you will stand your ground the wide world over."

They began by standing their ground at Copenhagen. For some days the prospect looked so black that the Brethren lost their courage; their resolution was "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought"; and Dober suggested that Nitschmann should return to Herrnhut. But the clouds of doubt soon lifted. The carpenter remained firm. At some point in the proceedings a friend suggested that they should enlist in the Danish Army. They rejected the suggestion with contempt. At another point they felt so deserted by man that once again they turned for guidance to the Text Book; and there they read the cheering message: "Hath He said, and shall He not do it ? or hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good ?" With these words to inspire them, they kept the flag still flying. Steadily, surely, slowly the tide turned in their favour. At the end of two months the two men in brown coats had changed the tone of the whole Court of Copenhagen. Never in the history of Denmark had such a moral revolution been known. They had changed the Sadducees into zealots, had won the esteem of all, and had now, not only the Royal Family, but the whole Court on their side. The Queen herself expressed her good wishes. The Princess Amelia invited them to Court, and gave them a Dutch Bible and some money. Von Pless offered Nitschmann ten guineas more; Nitschmann refused; and Von Pless forced the guineas into his

pocket. Dr. Grothausen, the King's physician, gave them a spring lancet, and showed them how to open a vein. The Court spoke openly in their favour. The Royal Cupbearer, Martins, found them a Dutch ship on the point of sailing for St. Thomas. Some humbler friends supplied them with carpenter's tools. They had now more money than they needed to pay their passage. At the last moment Anthony Ulrich changed his tune again, and gave them a letter addressed to his brother and sister; and finally a member of the Privy Council spurred them on with the words: "Go in the name of the Lord. Our Saviour chose fishermen to preach the Gospel, and He Himself was a carpenter and a carpenter's son." Thus Dober and Nitschmann held the fort, and the Moravian battle of Copenhagen was won.

And so, with Royalty beaming upon them, the two pioneers set sail (October 8th). The voyage lasted over two months. The weather was stormy, the crew were heathen, and the captain called himself an atheist. As they "crossed the line"† the Brethren received the usual novice's ducking. The sailors roared with drunken laughter. Amid their trials the Brethren kept on smiling. As the language of daily life in St. Thomas was Dutch, it was to their advantage, after all, to sail in a Dutch ship. They studied their Dutch Bibles, preached to the crew, and won their good-will by helping to work the ship. David Nitschmann even touched the heart of the captain. The ship's carpenter spoiled the captain's wardrobe; David Nitschmann repaired it; and the godless old salt was so delighted that when they landed in St. Thomas he urged

†A ship does not usually "cross the line" on the way from Denmark to the West Indies. But the ship may possibly have been blown out of her course.

the planters to give Nitschmann a job. Sometimes the sailors amused the Brethren by spinning yarns about the horrible diseases that attacked white men in the West Indies. The Brethren were not dismayed. As the captain knew no better argument, he repeated the time-honoured insult that preachers preached only for money. Instead of replying, the Brethren did good works, talked to the cook about his soul, and watched by the bunk of an ailing sailor. "On the whole," wrote Nitschmann, "the people were very kind, but we sorrowed for their blindness. Not one on the ship knows the Lord, and we long for Christian fellowship."

At last, on Saturday, December 13th, 1732, the ship cast anchor in St. Thomas harbour. The mid-day sun was blazing overhead; the Brethren stood on the deck of the little ship, and there before them lay the "First Love of Moravian Missions." The scene was a panorama of beauty. Along the winding beach the sand was gleaming like crystals of silver; the rocks were as yellow as gold; the cactuses and fronded palms adorned the vales; the scarlet roofs of the town of Tappus flashed in the noonday sun; and the billowy hills, in living green, stood out limned clear against the dome of blue. To the Brethren, however, these beauties brought no delight. Not once, either in letter or diary, did they mention the charms of nature. For the first time since they left Herrnhut they were feeling sad at heart. The text for the day sounded almost like a mockery. "The Lord of Hosts," they read, "mustereth the host of the battle." At present the host consisted of two tired men. "We suffered," they wrote, "all the pangs of childbirth." Let us not condemn them for their gloomy fears. As these Brethren gazed upon the scene of their labours,

they knew full well that their first duty was to earn an honest living. They had spent most of their money on the voyage, and, for anything they knew to the contrary, they would not be able to find employment. At three o'clock in the afternoon they landed, enquired for a planter named Lorenzen, and gave him a letter of introduction which they had brought from an old friend, Henry Daniel, in Copenhagen. On the following day, they attended public service. The service was held in a room in the fort; the day was the Third Sunday in Advent, and the Brethren noted that in the Proper Lesson there came the words: "To the poor the Gospel is preached." At the close of Divine service, a negro stepped forward and said that Lorenzen wished to see them. He welcomed them warmly, offered them a half-built house as a home, said that they might finish the building, and promised to find them further employment. With their minds at ease they sought out Abraham and Anna, and read them their brother Anthony's letter. It contained the words: "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent." From that text the Brethren preached their first sermon to the slaves. It is marvellous how they made themselves understood. The official language of St. Thomas was Danish; the language of the planters in daily life was Dutch; the language of the negroes was Creole; and the Brethren stammered in a jargon of Dutch and German. For all that they made it clear that Christ had died for blacks as well as whites. The poor slaves clapped their hands for joy. "They felt the truth," said Dober, "rather than understood it." The first seed was sown; the great work of Moravian Missions had begun; and thus for the first time in history the negro slaves of the West

Indies heard from the lips of simple men:—

"A Voice from Heaven that bade the outcast rise
From shame on earth to glory in the skies."†

The fight for the faith began. The Brethren soon found themselves in a moral hell. For sixty years St. Thomas had been the scene, not only of a brutal reign of terror, but of scandalous and shameful immorality. In theory the island was now a Danish colony; in fact, it was under the rule of the Danish West Indian Company. Above the castle fluttered the Danish flag, and beneath its folds the planters did that which was right in their own eyes. At the head of affairs was a Governor. As this man, however, was elected by the planters, he had little more real authority than a dummy figure. If he pleased them, they ignored him; and if he displeased them, they dismissed him. The island was divided into ten plantations: the chief products were indigo, millet, tobacco, sugar, and sweet potatoes; the number of whites was about three hundred and the number of slaves three thousand; and the chief concern of the three hundred whites was to keep the three thousand slaves in order. We can easily imagine how the feat was performed. In creed the planters were Christians. Some were pious Huguenots, banished from France; some belonged to the Lutheran State Church; and some, probably the great majority, were members of the Dutch Reformed Church. But in conduct most of the planters were hypocrites. As long as they did no work on the Sabbath, they imagined that they were the chosen people of God; and one Governor, Jorgen Iversen, had laid down the law that all planters must attend Divine worship on Sundays, and that every employer who allowed his

†James Montgomery. The "West Indies."

slaves to work on the Sabbath must pay a fine of thirty pounds of tobacco. At this point the Christianity of the planters ceased. Let it not be said that they treated their slaves as cattle. No sensible farmer treats his cows as badly. At first sight the slaves looked happy enough. They were commonly divided into three classes. Pure Negroes from the Gold Coast were called Bussals; pure Negroes born in St. Thomas were called Creoles; and Negroes with a drop of white blood in their veins were generally called Mulattoes. For all practical purposes, however, the three classes were on the same level. They had much the same external appearance, and they lived the same kind of life. They had stalwart figures; they had smiling faces; they loved a joke; and they laughed and chattered at their work. Each family man had his own little wooden hut, his own backyard, his own fowls, his own home-fed pig, his own little plot of yams and maize. As their wages were low, they could never put money in the bank; but as they had little chance of spending, they hardly ever became paupers. In the teeming sea they found congers, crabs, anchovies, mullets and other fish; in the forests they gathered oranges, bananas and sweetsops. They had not, except in the busy season, to work as hard and long as a British ploughman; they had a half-holiday on Saturday and a whole holiday on Sunday; and thus, in many ways, they were better off than thousands of working-men in England to-day.

Beneath the smiling faces, however, beat many an aching heart. In body the Negroes were plump; in soul they were starved to death. In the Arctic regions it is commonly said that the only way to keep the sledge-dogs from snapping is to thrash them until they have no

more spirit left. The planters pursued the same policy in St. Thomas. They regarded the slaves as a pack of dangerous animals. As long as the blacks had a spark of fire in their blood, there was always the danger that they would rise in rebellion; and, therefore, said the planters, they must be cowed, crushed, and hammered into the shape of ignorant cowards. In order first to destroy their national instincts, the planters forbade them to hold their dances to the beat of the gumbah. As soon as the curfew drum had sounded, all slaves had to hie to their huts. No meetings outside the plantations were permitted. For the first offence against these laws, the culprit was flogged; for the second, his ears were cut off; for the third, he was hanged on a gallows and his head was spitted on a pole. If a slave tried to run away, he was branded and hanged; if he stole an orange or yam, he was branded and hanged; if he raised his stick to smite a white man, he was branded and hanged. For smaller crimes there were smaller punishments, the loss of an ear or leg, a brand in the forehead, or a few hundred lashes. The planters were expert floggers. The whip used was called the "tschikefell" (cow-hide). It was made of hard twisted cow-hide leather, and was studded with iron points. The criminal was either lashed to a post or stretched face downwards on the ground; the flogger took his stand at striking distance; and then, with the aid of the iron points, he flicked chips of flesh out of the quivering, writhing body. At each stroke the victim, obedient to instructions, sang out "Thank you, Massa"; and when the operation was over, his gashes were rubbed in salt water. Secondly, the planters made inroads on family life. Sometimes they sold the husband without the wife, sometimes the wife without the husband. No negro could be

legally married; no private contract was binding; and the only system allowed by law was a system of free love which led to the most appalling immorality. For that immorality the negroes were little to blame. It was practically forced upon them by the planters. As the planters were not very moral themselves, they quite approved of the practice; and although they spoke of the blacks as beasts, they often treated the women as concubines.

Above all, the planters had done their best to rob the negroes of religion. They told them that Christ had died for white men only, and that all blacks were created by the devil. They forbade them to hold religious services, or even to keep a fetish; and the only religion the negroes now possessed was a vague belief in a distant God and a terror of evil spirits haunting every stone and tree. "Oh! God," ran the negroes' morning prayer, "I know Thee not, but Thou knowest me! I need Thy help! Oh! God, help us! We know not whether we shall live till to-morrow! We are in Thy hand."

The work of the Brethren began in a modest way. At first they had a fairly pleasant time. As long as Nitschmann remained on the scene, they found it easy to make ends meet. A planter, Carstens, gave them regular work, and before long they were able to build a house on his estate. As public meetings were not allowed, they could only deal with the negroes one by one. Instead, therefore, of addressing crowds, they earned their living by day as carpenters, and visited the huts of the negroes after sunset. With the slaves their first experiences were disappointing. The poor wretches gave the Gospel a mixed reception. By observing the conduct of the planters, who often went to Church on Sunday and committed adultery on Monday, the

negroes concluded that religion had nothing to do with morals; and, therefore, while they welcomed the hope of Heaven, they rejected the Sermon on the Mount with disgust. David Nitschmann gives us a striking example. In his diary he says that on his way to St. Thomas he had a wonderful dream. He dreamt that he and Dober had landed, that they met a blacksmith named Alexander, and that Alexander welcomed them and rejoiced to hear the Gospel. The dream came true. Alexander was a promising pupil. He visited the Brethren nearly every night; he confessed the sad state of his heart; he asked to be taught to sing and pray; and he probed the Brethren with interesting questions about the Christian Creed. Amid the lessons the Brethren discovered that Alexander was both a drunkard and an adulterer. They told him that unless he mended his ways he could never pass through the Gates into the City. At first, Alexander was astonished; then he looked puzzled; then he grew careless; and then he went away in a rage.

But Dober's hardest trials were still to come. At the time when he and Nitschmann set out from Herrnhut, it was distinctly understood among the Brethren that Nitschmann was going, not to preach, but simply to spy out the land, and bring back a report to Herrnhut. He was already a middle-aged man; he had left a wife and children behind; and now (April 17th, 1733), having done his appointed duty, he set sail for Herrnhut.

For fifteen months Dober toiled alone in St. Thomas. He nearly died of starvation. For a carpenter there had been work in abundance; for a potter there was scarcely any. He found himself in the ranks of the unemployed; his pig-mill broke; the earth was not suitable for making clay; and the planters, chuckling over his mis-

fortune, said, "Perhaps a glazier will be coming next."†

He appealed to the negroes and offered to work for them. "No," they replied, "that is against the law." He tried to earn a little money by fishing. The fish—so he reported—refused to bite. At this crisis, Gardelin, the Governor, came to his aid. He was a pious man, with a glimmering sense of duty. He often prayed hours together in his chamber, prepared devoutly for the Sacrament, and held family worship with his slaves; and now, thinking highly of Dober's character, he offered him the post of house-steward.

"I offer you this situation," he said, "simply in recognition of your godly character. Let me warn you to keep true to your God, to walk faithfully in His sight, and especially to avoid the sins so prevalent in this island."

With meekness Dober promised obedience, and with joy he entered on his duties. The only condition he laid down was that he should have certain fixed hours for visiting the slaves. For the first and only time in his life he lived in comfort. He had a new suit of clothes; he sat at the Governor's table; he was waited on by a butler; his duties were light and his pay was good; and as long as he kept the house in order he was allowed to visit the slaves as much as he pleased.

But this change did the holy cause more harm than good. As long as Dober lived in the Governor's house, the slaves regarded him with suspicion. He felt uneasy himself. He had been brought up as a working-man, and was not at home in genteel society; he was bored by the task of learning "to be high";

†The point of the joke was that glass windows were not then used in St. Thomas. A glazier, therefore, would find nothing to do.

he had not as much time for visiting as he wished; and the whole situation was against his previous conceptions. "I felt ashamed," he says, "that I had not been able to carry out my original design of becoming a slave." He hated the style of life; he felt like a bird in a cage; and he said that he would never have taken the post unless God had shown him the way. He was able soon, however, to burst his bars.

For some years the slaves in the neighbouring island of St. John had behaved so quietly that the planters had neglected their usual precautions. In the fort in Coral Bay there was only a garrison of ten. The negroes seized their chance. They formed a plot to murder all the whites, stormed the garrison, hacked the ten soldiers to pieces, razed houses all over the island, fired the plantations, murdered whites, and marched in triumphal procession with a planter's head on a pole. For six months they revelled in blood and fire. At length a French ship arrived from Martinique. The negroes were at bay. They held a meeting, and discussed what they should do. They had two courses before them. To live was to fall once more into the hands of planters; to die was to fall into the hands of demons. The negroes preferred the demons. With one consent three hundred rebels committed suicide. It is not quite certain how they performed the feat. According to one tradition, they shot themselves; according to another, they jumped down a precipice, and the scene is still pointed out to visitors. In either case the moral was the same. Never before had Dober realised how bitterly the slaves hated their masters. The news of the suicide angered the slaves in St. Thomas, and Dober saw that for their sakes he must take a definite stand. Amid the excitement his own health

broke down. His converts watched by his bedside, and Dober was so touched by their devotion that he resolved henceforth to live in their midst. He handed in his resignation to the Governor. The good man was staggered. "I don't understand you," he said, "there must be something else on your mind." But Dober held to his point. For the sake of the slaves he incurred the Governor's displeasure, returned to Tappus, and earned his living, first as a night-watchman, and then as a plantation overseer. He had now, in the eyes of polite society, disgraced himself. Of the so-called Christian prosperous planters, only three—Lorenzen, Carstens, and his employer, Beverhout—had a spark of sympathy with his efforts. His situation was pitiful. In order to please the slaves once more, he had to resign the post of overseer. But the slaves did not respond by obeying his precepts. He had made a little impression on Abraham and Anna; he had two more converts, Gerard and Henry, and the rest continued their wicked life as before.

At length, on June 11th, 1734, he heard to his joy that a vessel had arrived from Copenhagen. As soon as he had finished his daily work he sent a messenger down to the harbour to ask if any letters had arrived from Herrnhut. The messenger loitered. The darkness fell; the slaves had gone to their huts; and Dober, who had set out to meet the man, sat down on the lonely roadside beside a watch-fire. Never before had he felt so sad at heart. For fifteen months he had heard no word from home. The frogs were croaking along the silver beach; around him, through the flickering firelight, shimmered the purple haze; and Dober pondered, lone and lorn, on the grand old days at Herrnhut. From the quay the murmur of voices broke on his ear. With a thrill of mingled hope and fear, he waited. The sound drew nearer.

What tones were these that broke the evening calm? Instead of the lilting song of a slave, he heard the homely burr of the fatherland, and instead of the returning messenger, he saw his old friend, Tobias Leupold. Once more the two friends had met at eventide. With joy they rushed into each other's arms, and hour after hour they sat that night in eager conversation. Strange news had Leupold brought. He had come, he said, with a gallant band to begin new work in St. Croix. The missionary career of Dober was over. At Herrnhut he had been elected by Lot to the post of Chief Elder; he would now be the general manager of the foreign work; and, therefore, by the command of God, he must leave St. Thomas for Herrnhut. With a breaking heart, he parted once more from Leupold. Thus, having sown the first Gospel seed in St. Thomas, did Leonard Dober make way for a greater man.

2. FREDERICK MARTIN, 1736—1750.

The next man was the real founder of the work in the Danish West Indies. As the silvery mist stole gently down on the Roman Catholic village of Pommerschwitz, in Upper Silesia, a young man, named Frederick Martin, who had been imprisoned for his faith, broke through his guards and fled to Herrnhut. A few weeks later he was appointed to succeed Leonard Dober in St. Thomas; and so successful were his efforts that Zinzendorf called him "The Apostle to the Negroes." During his fourteen years' activity he pursued five methods.

(*a*) His first task was, not to preach the Gospel, but to earn his own living. The situation in the West Indies was remarkable. For over one hundred years no missionary in the West Indies received from the Moravian Church one penny of salary for

his services; each man, during all that period, had first to earn his own living; and Martin solved the problem in a manner which many of his successors had to follow. As soon as a convenient opportunity arose, Martin, without waiting for instructions from Herrnhut, and using money advanced for the purpose by the friendly planter Carstens, bought a small plantation about four miles from Tappus. In due time the Herrnhut authorities sent the money, and thus the Moravian Church became the owner, not only of a plot of land, but also of the slaves who worked upon it. For that conduct the Church was not in the least to be blamed. In those days no other course was possible. According to the law of the land, the slaves on any estate were simply an integral part of the property; and no one could possibly buy the land unless at the same time he also bought the slaves. For four reasons Martin held that he had set a good precedent: (1) He had land on which he could build a Church. On this estate, in fact, the first Church for public worship was built. At first the estate was called "The Brethren's Plantation"; then Martin named it "The Brethren's Toot-oo," because, like the toot-oo shell blown by the planters, it summoned the negroes to work; then Zinzendorf named it Posaunenberg (Trombone Hill);† and finally it received its present name, "New Herrnhut." (2) He had not to toil all day in the sweat of his brow, and could devote his main energies to spiritual work. (3) His converts were close at hand, and that fact made pastoral oversight much easier. (4) By his own personal conduct he could shew the other planters that a slave owner need not be a brute. In reply, however, to these arguments, it may be asked why, after buying the estate, Martin did not set the slaves at liberty.

†Isaiah xviii., 3.—"And when He bloweth a trumpet, hear ye."

In reply to that question three answers may be given: (1) On the slavery question Martin was a child of his age. There is no proof, so far as I know, that he regarded slavery itself as wicked. (2) Had Martin released all his converts, the Danish Government would probably have expelled him. For the time being, at least, he had to take the law as he found it. (3) At Copenhagen the Princess Sophia asked David Nitschmann a natural question:

"Would not the slaves be more easily converted," she said, "if all who confessed Christ were at once set at liberty?"

"No," replied Nitschmann, "that would be the way to make hypocrites." And with that opinion Martin seems to have agreed.

(*b*) His second method was systematic discipline. In order to teach his converts the real ethical meaning of the Christian religion, he not only formed them into "Bands" for Bible study and prayer, but even taught them to pay into a poor-box and buy their own candles for the evening meetings. Thus they learned both to help each other and to support the Church. Some of his converts, of course, came from other estates, and these were always instructed to be diligent, honest, and obedient.

(*c*) His third method was education. At his own home he even kept a small boarding-school; there, for the first time, negro children were taught to read and write; and Martin's example, as far as possible, was followed by most of his successors.

(*d*) His fourth method was the personal interview. For some months Martin devoted all his spare time to the task of making the personal acquaintance of every negro on the island. With a friendly smile upon his face he shook hands with them all. By this means he gained their confidence; the negroes felt that he was interested in their welfare; and

the consequence was that, though he could hardly be called an eloquent speaker, the negroes attended his evening services in crowds.

(*e*) His last method was ecclesiastical organization. As soon as he received official authority, *i.e.*, as soon as he was ordained, Martin began, not only to 1737
baptize his converts, but also to conduct the Holy Communion, celebrate marriages at Church, and appoint "helpers" and other church officials; and thereby he formed the nucleus of a free independent Church in St. Thomas.

Meanwhile, however, his enemies rallied their forces. As soon as Martin began to baptize his converts, the planters realised that, from their point of view, he was a dangerous character; and led by a certain Pastor Borm, of the Dutch Reformed Church, they now made a systematic attempt to destroy the mission. For about two years, there- 1737-9
fore, Martin was subjected to various forms of attack. The first blow in public was struck by Pastor Borm. With the full approval of the Dutch Reformed Council, John Borm handed in to the Governor a document accusing Martin of two serious offences. His first offence was of a singular nature. According to Borm, Martin's ordination had not yet been confirmed by the King of Denmark. Martin, therefore, he said, was still a layman. He had no right to baptize at all; his Holy Communion was a farce; and those couples whom he had married were living in adultery. Still worse, contended Borm, Martin was grossly ignorant of theology, and was quite unfit to give religious instruction. For the sake of peace the Governor suggested that Martin should cease baptizing until the required confirmation from Denmark arrived; and then, when Martin flatly refused, the Governor evaded the question by paying a visit to St. Croix. The next blow exhibited

strategic skill. At this early period in the history of the renewed Moravian Church, many Moravians, like the Quakers, conscientiously objected to taking an oath; of those Moravians Frederick Martin was one, and now he and his colleague, Freundlich, were summoned to give evidence in a case of theft. The result can be imagined. For their refusal to give evidence, Martin and Freundlich were first fined £4 10s.; then, as they refused to pay, this sum was increased to £20; and finally, Martin, Freundlich and Freundlich's wife were all three imprisoned in the castle. The next blow was still more deadly. As soon as Martin was safely in jail, the Governor, the Sheriff, John Borm, and the rest of the Dutch Reformed Council, formed themselves into an examining board; and now Martin and seven of his converts were summoned before this Board as heretics. The whole future of the mission was now at stake. In order to confuse the minds of the negroes, and compel them to give absurd answers, John Borm, the official examiner, submitted a series of conundrums. "Is God," he demanded, "a man? Does he live in Guinea? Has Martin ever baptized in his own name? Has he ever mixed blood with water? Has he ever told you that his teaching is superior to the Lutheran or Reformed? Has he told you that after death the blacks will rule over the whites? Has he ever made you pay him or work for him in return for his instructions? Has he ever used anything in the Communion besides bread and wine?"

And now the cruel planters adopted still more diabolical tactics. At one time they informed the converts that Martin was an evil spirit, able to fly across the sea by night and back again in the early morning; and frequently they also warned them that all black converts would blaze in hell like touchwood. Some-

times they burned the negroes' school-books, and buffeted them in the face with the blazing papers; and sometimes they even poured boiling sealing-wax over the bodies of his female converts. In spite, however, of these intimidations, most of the converts still remained loyal. Each evening they visited the castle and heard Martin preach through the bars of his cell; his assistant, Mingo, maintained the Sunday services; and at night the negroes sang so lustily that the planters could not sleep.

The deliverance was sudden and swift. At the very time when Pastor Borm was endeavouring to destroy the mission, certain critics in Saxony were remarking that, while Zinzendorf sent out others to die in foreign climes, he had not the courage to risk his own life; and partly because he wished to repel this charge, and partly because he was anxious about Martin, he now set sail for St. Thomas. His companions were Valentine Löhans, Mrs. Löhans, and George Weber. As the ship sailed into St. Thomas harbour (January 29th, 1739), the Count, catching sight of the castle, was smitten by a sudden misgiving. 1739

"What if I should find no one there?" he asked. "What if the missionaries are all dead?"

"Then we are there," replied George Weber,

"Gens aeterna, these Moravians,"† exclaimed the Count.

His arrival in St. Thomas caused a sensation. "I burst into the castle," he wrote to his wife, "like thunder." At his request, the prisoners were released, and the Governor promised, not only that Martin might practise all ecclesiastical rites,

†This famous remark must not be misunderstood. The Count was thinking, not of members of the Moravian Church in general, but of those who had emigrated from Moravia, such as Matthew Stach, George Schmidt, and David Nitschmann.

but that he should be persecuted no more. For three weeks the Count was busy as an organizer. He began by dividing the island into four districts. At New Herrnhut he stationed Martin as Superintendent; at the Perl he stationed Weber; at Muskito Bay, Valentine Löhans; and at Tappus, a native helper. The chief converts, also, were given positions of trust. He appointed Peter Chief Elder of the Brethren, and Magdalene Chief Elder of the Sisters, and others were appointed as helpers, advisers and distributors of alms. The system of "Hourly Prayer" was introduced; each plantation on the estate was to have its spiritual overseer; and the converts were to form themselves into "Bands." On Sunday, February 15th, he addressed the converts at a mass meeting, and laid before them his ideals of Christian conduct. "I have," he said, "five points to impress upon you. First, think constantly about Jesus Christ; let Him be as present to your minds as though you saw Him on the Cross. Second, deal honestly with Martin and his colleagues, and never pretend to be holier than you are. Third, if you are expelled for misconduct, ask for grace to repent. Fourth, be true to your husbands and wives, and obedient to your masters and bombas. The Lord has made all ranks—kings, masters, servants and slaves. God punished the first negroes by making them slaves,† and your conversion will make you free, not from the control of your masters,

†Genesis IX., 20—25.—From this speech it is quite clear that Zinzendorf had no sympathy with slave emancipation. In common with other theologians, he held that the negroes were descended from the Canaanites. The whole argument, roughly speaking, ran as follows:—Ham insulted his father, Noah. For this sin, Ham's descendants, the Canaanites, were condemned to slavery. The Negroes were descended from the Canaanites. Therefore, slavery is a Divine institution. Zinzendorf even thought it wrong to teach negro-slaves to read and write.

but simply from your wicked habits and thoughts, and all that makes you dissatisfied with your lot. Fifthly, think kindly of all the negroes who have not yet heard the Gospel."

The last round in the combat now began. As soon as Zinzendorf was safely out of the way, the planters made one more attempt to wreck the mission. Pastor Borm, in a letter to a friend at Amsterdam, declared that the negroes taught by Martin still knew nothing of God; one planter, in another letter, asserted that they worshipped Zinzendorf; and only a week after Zinzendorf had left St. Thomas, six ruffians, armed with daggers and pistols, attacked the house where Martin and his colleagues were conducting an evening service, burst open the door, and threatened to make a speedy end of the negroes. The leader of the gang was drunk, and foamed at the mouth. For a few moments there was a serious danger that both the missionaries and the negroes would be murdered. "Hew them," roared the frenzied leader, "shoot them, stab them, strike them dead."

The scene in the room became one of wild confusion. With perfect coolness, Martin, Weber and Mrs. Weber faced the six raging invaders; the negroes escaped through a back window; and now the leader informed Martin that if he did not bring back the negroes he would stab him to the heart. Martin stood firm; the gang felt baffled; and, cursing loudly, the whole six departed. The final issue, however, was decided, not in St. Thomas, but in Denmark. On his return journey to Herrnhut, Zinzendorf called at Copenhagen. There he interviewed the King, and the King, in response to his request, confirmed Martin's ordination, instructed Pastor Borm to leave the Brethren in peace, issued

Mar. 13th 1739

an edict granting the Brethren full religious liberty, and declared that all who molested them again would be severely punished.

3. THE EXTENDING CAUSE, 1740-82.

As the triumphant Count re-crossed the Atlantic, bright dreams of coming glory cheered his soul; and soon after his arrival at Herrnhut, he sent out two men, Albin Feder, a learned theologian, and Gottlieb
1740 Israel, a lame tailor, to assist Frederick Martin in St. Thomas. On the voyage out the two men had an amazing adventure. First, they sailed in a Danish ship to St. Eustace; there, the vessel having reached her destination, they changed into an English barque bound by way of St. Thomas for Jamaica; and then (January 17th, 1740), near the rocky islet of Skrop, so fierce a gale arose that the captain thought it best to cast anchor and trust to the strength of his cables to weather the storm. His policy, however, proved a mistake. Owing to a sudden change in the wind, the stern of the ship was broken to pieces against a rock. The captain cocked his pistol; the long-boat was manned; the captain and his men pulled for the shore, and Feder, Israel, and a few negro hands were left on the sinking ship. For missionaries and for negroes alike there was now only one chance of safety. In his narrative, Israel says that he himself, Feder and three negroes managed somehow to drop from the bowsprit on to a half-sunken reef extending to the shore. For some minutes all five clung to their perilous perch; then Feder, who tried to advance, was swept off his feet and drowned; and, while the raffle smote him on the face, and the lightning flashed, Israel called out to his colleague: "Go hence in peace, beloved brother," and sang, with a cheerful voice,

Count Zinzendorf's famous "Single Brethren's Song":—

Where are ye, ye sons of the spirit of grace,
Who the Cross of your Lord love to share?
Your path in the future what vision can trace,
At home or in regions afar?
Ye breakers of walls, why shrink from the view?
The rocks, the wild forest-brakes and the caves,
The isles of the heathen, the high-rolling waves,
These, these are the places for you.

For several hours Israel still clung to the rock; then the captain flung a rope from the shore, and finally, a few weeks later (February 18th), Israel, half naked and half dead, appeared at Trombone Hill in St. Thomas. Let us see why his arrival was important.

For the explanation we must return to Herrnhut. As Zinzendorf was burning some waste paper, he noticed one sheet flutter unburnt to the ground. Picking it up, he read the words:— 1734

"O! Let us in Thy nail-prints see
Our pardon and election free,"

and taking these words as a special message from God, he founded his so-called "Blood and Wounds Theology." During the next thirty or forty years that theology played a prominent part in Moravian Missions. The first man to preach it abroad was Gottlieb Israel; and the first result of his preaching was that, just as John Wesley, by preaching judgment and the need of conversion, led the Evangelical Revival in England, so Israel, by preaching the Suffering Christ, led the Evangelical Revival in St. Thomas. Between St. Thomas and England, however, there was one important difference. In St. Thomas far more attention was paid to the individual. On Sunday mornings all the converts had their Bible lesson; on Wednesday they had Band Meetings;

once a month they came to Holy Communion; and nearly every evening there were special meetings, lasting about fifteen minutes, for the hourly intercessors, for the children, and for others needing special instruction.

1734 Meanwhile, strange things had happened in St. Croix. At the special request of Von Pless, who owned six plantations on the island, Zinzendorf sent over eighteen Brethren. The idea was that, by working the estates, the Brethren might win money for the holy cause; and, fired by this noble ideal, they dug ditches, cleared the tangle, burnt the tall grass, and planted lettuces, parsley, cabbages, maize, yams, and cassava. The result was tragic. St. Croix, in those days, swarmed with mosquitoes, and fever was in the air. First, out of the eighteen, ten, including Tobias Leupold, died; then (1735) eleven more Brethren arrived, and seven more died of fever; then nine, reduced by illness, had to return to Herrnhut; and thus, out of twenty-nine Brethren, only three were left.

On Zinzendorf these disasters had a strange effect. Instead of being cast down or dismayed, he composed a noble hymn in the Brethren's honour;† other Brethren followed without a tremor; and after three more had died—including Gottlieb Israel—the first station, Friedensthal (1755), was founded.

1741 Meanwhile, in St. John, the work had progressed more smoothly. For a few months the only preacher to the slaves was an overseer, Jens Rasmus; then Martin himself arrived, and earning his living by making spoons, actually bought the estate where the first station—Bethany (1754)—was afterwards founded.

Thus, at a terrible cost of life, did the Brethren

†Ten in the earth were sown as seed,
Lost to man's expectation:
Yet on their graves our faith doth read,
"Seed of the Negro Nation."

establish the Mission in the Danish West Indies. In St. Thomas alone, during the first fifty years, one hundred and sixty missionaries died. With the death of Martin (1750) the pioneer period closed. Zinzendorf called him "The Faithful Witness," and his grave, on the Princess Estate in St. Croix, still keeps his memory green.

For thirty years after Martin's death the cause steadily advanced. In 1754 the three islands were placed under the direct rule of the Government; in 1774 the King of Denmark issued a special edict in the Brethren's favour; and Governors and planters alike were now quite friendly. Thus encouraged, the Brethren founded new stations. In St. Thomas they founded Niesky (1771); in St. Croix, Friedensberg (1771); and in St. John, Emmaus (1782).

1762-84 For twenty-two years the chief leader was Martin Mack. Under his efficient rule "native helpers" were appointed, and many of these were men of the highest character. The most distinguished was a slave named Cornelius. By his industry as a stonemason he succeeded in purchasing his own freedom. He could preach with ease in Creole, Dutch, German, English and Danish, and both by his conduct and by his sermons he shewed that, when the right methods were employed, a West Indian native could rise to a high intellectual and moral level.

Chapter IV.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, 1754—1800.

As this chapter brings us under the British flag, we naturally hope to find ourselves in a more sympathetic Christian atmosphere. This hope is not altogether disappointed; and the chief point for us to bear in mind is that while most of the British planters were both godless and cruel,† each island also contained a few high-souled Christians. By most of the British planters the first Moravian Missionaries were despised, and sometimes opposed; by a few distinguished exceptions they were warmly supported; and most of the Governors and higher officials were in favour of the Mission. In Jamaica the first invitation came from two pious planters; in Antigua the Governor encouraged the work; in Barbados the Brethren were aided by a clergyman, by a doctor, and by a Quaker planter; and in St. Kitts and in Tobago a pious planter, in each case, gave the first invitation. For the credit of the British race the names of these noble men should be remembered. The two pious Jamaica planters were William Foster and John Foster Barham; the name of the Barbados Quaker was Jackman; the pious planter in St. Kitts was Gardiner; and the equally pious planter in Tobago was Hamilton. During the eighteenth century, therefore, the Moravian missionaries in the British West Indies occupied a curious position. With the possible exception of Antigua, each island seems to

†This must be candidly admitted. In his diary, George Caries, one of the first missionaries in Jamaica, says that nearly every night he could hear the shrieks of negroes who were being flogged; and children only six years old were forced to work in the fields.

have possessed a few planters deeply interested in Christian work among the slaves. By these pious planters the first Moravian missionaries were encouraged; on the estates of these planters they built their first stations; and, in some cases, they were presented with land, became small plantation owners themselves, and preached, therefore, in the first instance, to their own slaves. Let us now see how this system worked:—

(1) JAMAICA, 1754.—For two or three years before this Mission commenced, the most famous Moravian in England was that popular preacher, John Cennick. One day two wealthy planters, William Foster and John Foster Barham, resident in England, but owning estates in Jamaica, having heard John Cennick preach, asked him to take spiritual charge of their slaves in Jamaica. In reply to this invitation, John Cennick, who was then in Ireland, declared that he could not leave his present work; the two planters, nothing daunted, appealed to the Moravian Elders; and next year (1754) the first three missionaries — George Caries, Thomas Shallcross, and Gottlieb Haberecht — arrived in Jamaica. Let us note carefully the precise arrangement. Among the estates belonging to the two planters, one was named New Carmel. Near it they had four other estates, Elim, Lancaster, Two-Mile Wood and the Bogue; and the strange arrangement now made was that while the first estate, New Carmel, was actually presented to the Brethren, they were allowed to preach on all five estates. The result was curious. For over sixty years New Carmel, a low, unhealthy and depressing spot, situated near the mouth of the Black River, remained not only the headquarters of the work, but the only Moravian Mission Station. There the Brethren earned their living by working the

1754

plantation; there they bred cattle; there they employed a gang of slaves to look after both the plantation and the cattle; there, just like other planters, they had to administer discipline and punish malingerers; and there, finally, they built a preaching-hall, and preached on Sundays to the very men whom they employed as labourers during the week. For the following reasons, however, the Brethren's first efforts in Jamaica can only be described as a failure:—(*a*) In spite of the influence of George Caries, for whom the negroes conceived a strong affection, most of the missionaries, though respected, were not loved. How could the negroes love a man who, after preaching the Gospel on Sunday, punished them for laziness on Monday? (*b*) By earning their own living the missionaries lost caste. According to the Jamaica planters, a clergyman ought at least to be a gentleman; some of the missionaries, they observed, even did their own washing, and that fact was sufficient in itself to expose them to contempt. (*c*) The more time the Brethren devoted to business, the less time they had for spiritual work. (*d*) Another cause was the Brethren's system of discipline. For some years the leader in Jamaica was Christian Henry Rauch, originally sent by Zinzendorf as Inspector. Among the Red Indians Rauch had been a success (see Chap. 6, section 2); in Jamaica he nearly ruined the mission. By nature he was a stern martinet; and so many rules did he lay down that both the missionaries and the negroes lost heart. First, he offended George Caries, who retired in disgust; then, taking the reins himself, he laid down the absurd rule that no convert might be baptized unless he had attained a high standard in Christian doctrine; and the negroes felt that they were living under a system of tyranny. (*e*) The

last cause of failure was ill-health. In order to purify the bad drinking water, some of the missionaries, following the false ideas of the time, resorted to rum; thereby, in their innocence, they undermined their constitutions, and this was one reason why the death-rate was so high.

2. ANTIGUA, 1756.—The case of Antigua offers a striking contrast. During the first fourteen years the cause in Antigua seemed hopeless. Samuel Isles, the first missionary, founded only one station, St. John's, and baptized only fourteen converts; and judging by his own vivid reports, the chief reason seems to have been, not that his colleagues pursued wrong methods, but that the Antigua slaves were abnormally depraved. Day after day, he tells us, they indulged in drunken orgies; day after day they stabbed and poisoned each other; and once a week, on Monday morning, the planters had culprits to hang. And then came a sudden dramatic change. For twenty-two years (1769-91) the work in Antigua was under the efficient management of Peter Braun, known to the negroes as "Massa Brown." During this man's ministry two more flourishing stations, Bailey Hill (1774) and Gracehill (1782) were founded, and the total number of converts rose to over seven thousand. His success may be attributed to two causes. The first was financial. According to his own explicit statement, Braun and his colleagues had still to earn their own living;† on the other hand, they received parcels from their Moravian friends in North America; and the consequence of this arrangement was that, while the missionaries in 1756

†In 1770, *e.g.*, Braun writes as follows:—"For three months we have had no work, and consequently no means of earning anything." From this sentence I draw two conclusions: (1) That the missionaries in Antigua did not own a plantation. Men who owned a plantation would not be thrown out of work. (2) That the missionaries had to earn their living in some way.

Jamaica were too pre-occupied with business, those in Antigua had more time for religious work. The other cause was Braun's personal character. According to one of his successors, Bennett Harvey, Braun acquired his influence over the negroes, not merely by his eloquence as a preacher, but by his wonderful tact and good nature. He visited them, says Harvey, in their huts, chatted with them in the fields, and ate with them out of their calabashes. Let us not, however, judge Braun merely by numbers. By his gracious personal influence, Braun raised the Antigua negroes to a high level of moral character; in his letters he himself boldly extolled their virtues; and one planter, speaking of a convert, said: "I would not part with him for £500." The result was greater than Braun himself contemplated. The fame of his work reached London. At the very time when Braun was at the height of his success, Christian Ignatius La Trobe, English Secretary for Moravian Missions, drew up an important memorial and presented it to a Committee of the Privy Council. In that memorial he described Moravian methods of work in the West Indies. Antigua seems to have been specially mentioned, and so impressed was the Privy Council by what it heard that when the question of emancipation was officially mooted, the Antigua missionaries were asked to state what policy they would recommend. Nor was this the whole of Braun's influence. Among his chief friends in England was Rowland Hill. Braun corresponded with Hill, and stimulated his interest in foreign missions, and thereby, indirectly, contributed to the formation of the L.M.S.

1765 (3) BARBADOS, 1765.—For fifteen years the work in Barbados was one dreary series of disasters. The chief cause seems to have been fever, due either to the climate or to bad water, and so rapidly did the

missionaries die—Andrew Rittmansberger (1765), John Fozzard (1766), Benjamin Brookshaw (1772), John Bennett (1772), Herr (1773) and Angerman (1775)—that, while the local clergy were friendly, and Jackman, a Quaker, allowed the Brethren to preach on his estate near Bridgetown, no consistent progress could be made. Nor was death in the ranks the only trouble. In 1780 came the "Great Hurricane." In consequence of this disaster the whole island was demoralised; planters and slaves alike lost their faith in the goodness of God; and so strong was the anti-Christian feeling that the Brethren founded only one station—Sharon (1795).

4. ST. KITTS, 1777.—At the special request of a pious planter named Gardiner, who was so enthusiastic that he came to London and interviewed two leading Moravians there, the Church sent two missionaries, John Gottwalt and James Birkby. Gardiner gave them a house at Basseterre; there the first Moravian Church was built (1795), and so energetically did the missionaries work—especially Gottwalt's successor, Schneller—that by the year 1800 the number of converts had risen to 2,000. 1777

5. TOBAGO, 1790.†—For this mission a planter, Hamilton, was responsible. The first missionary was John Montgomery, father of James Montgomery, the poet, and one station, Signal Hill, was founded. During Montgomery's stay, however, Tobago was in the hands of the French (1790-99). French soldiers introduced French revolutionary notions, and so many street riots occurred that Montgomery had to retire. 1790

†Tobago is said to be Robinson Crusoe's island, and his cave is shown to visitors. (Robinson, *History of Christian Missions*, p. 398.)

6. SUMMARY.—By the close, therefore, of the eighteenth century the Moravians had made but a modest beginning in the British West Indies. In Jamaica they had only one station, New Carmel; in Antigua, three, St. John's, Gracehill, and Gracebay; in Barbados, one, Sharon; in St. Kitts, one, Basseterre; in Tobago, one, Signal Hill. For this comparatively slow progress the chief reason was that all the missionaries had still to earn their own living; sometimes they were far worse off than the slaves; and one year, the Antigua missionaries, being out of work, had nothing to eat but a little bread sent by friends in New York. In Jamaica the Brethren owned a plantation; on the other islands they were artisans or tradesmen;† and though they received some financial assistance from the three Home Provinces, they could never give all their time to religious work.

†Let one example suffice: John Bennett was a tailor.

Chapter V.

GREENLAND, 1733—1774.

The situation in Greenland was critical. As Zinzendorf was on his visit to the Royal Court at Copenhagen, he saw two little Eskimo boys, who had been baptized by the missionary, Hans Egede; and as the story of Anthony Ulrich fired the zeal of Leonard Dober, so the story of Hans Egede fired the zeal of Matthew Stach. The story of Hans Egede was heart-rending. For ten years (1721-31) he had ploughed on a rock. In order to come into close touch with the Eskimos, he had taken his wife and family with him, built a house on a little island at the mouth of the Balls River, prepared an Eskimo catechism and grammar, and, aided by his son, painted pictures of the Creation, the Fall, the Crucifixion, the Healing Miracles, the Resurrection, and the Judgment Day; and yet, in spite of all his efforts, he did not gain one single genuine convert. The only story the Eskimos liked was the story of the Healing Miracles, and from that story they drew their own conclusions.

"If you are the priest of such a mighty God," they said, "you must perform similar miracles for us." For a few months Egede tried to oblige them; one or two patients, for whom he prayed, recovered; and then, when he could not guarantee success, the people denounced him as an impostor. At the back of their minds the fundamental idea was that unless Egede could satisfy their physical needs he was no true prophet of God. "If you wish us to believe in you," they said, "you must give us the kind of weather we want, send us plenty of seals and fish, and heal our diseases." During nearly the whole

of his ministry Egede was treated, not with respect, but with scorn. One day the people would listen with mock respect, and ask to be baptized; the next day they would burst out laughing in his face. Sometimes a gang of angekoks (*i.e.*, sorcerers) would beat drums during the singing; sometimes plots were formed to take his life; and sometimes the people would send him off on a false scent by concocting a story of a shipwreck. On the whole, therefore, Egede, to the Eskimos, was chiefly a source of amusement; and, no matter what arguments he used, they could always invent some smart retort. In vain he warned them against hell-fire; they replied that the heat would be a pleasant change from the cold of Greenland. In vain he contended that their angekoks had never seen the familiar spirits with whom they professed to deal. "Well," they answered, "where have you seen your God?" In vain he depicted the Judgment Day, when the heavens would be rolled up like a scroll. "No," they retorted, "our angekoks have been in the sky, and report that it is still in good repair." In vain he tried to teach the children to read and write. What was the use, they asked, of mumbling "A B C" in a classroom, or bending over a desk and spluttering ink with a feather? Would that mode of education enable them to catch more seals? In order to please a few of the parents, who professed to believe his message, Egede baptized their children. But, speakly broadly, the adults seemed hopeless; Egede himself was half convinced that they had drifted beyond hope of redemption; and sometimes, in his despair, he threatened that, if they did not pay more attention, the King of Denmark would send some soldiers. At length the King himself, Christian V., took drastic measures. In 1728 he sent some ships, well stocked with ammunition; the colony of

Godhaab was founded; and a trade in blubber was opened. But this experiment did more harm than good. Most of the settlers had free fights with the natives; the blubber trade did not pay; and the next King, Christian VI., informed Egede that if he was foolish enough to stay in Greenland he must do so on his own responsibility. In the past he had been supported by the Danish College of Missions; now that support would be withdrawn. At this crisis, Zinzendorf appeared at Copenhagen; a few weeks later he told the whole story at Herrnhut; and Matthew Stach, a young emigrant from Moravia, resolved that where Egede had failed he would endeavour to succeed. For some weeks he nursed his hopes in secret; then he heard Dober's famous letter read at a public meeting, and soon afterwards he unburdened his soul to his young friend, Frederick Böhnisch. "I feel exactly," said Matthew, "like those two men who wrote the letter; but my desire is to go to the heathen in Greenland."

"You have taken the words out of my mouth," replied Böhnisch, "that is exactly how I feel myself."

The result was what might be expected. For the long period of eighteen months these two enthusiastic young men had to contend at Herrnhut with all manner of criticism and opposition. Finally, however, the Elders surrendered, and, Böhnisch being by this time otherwise occupied, the following three were chosen. The leader of the expedition was Christian David, the carpenter; the two others were Matthew Stach and his cousin, Christian Stach; and on January 19th, 1733, these three men set out on foot for Copenhagen. Let us note precisely in what capacity they went. In spite of the King of Denmark's warning, Egede was

still in Greenland; and these three men went out, not as missionaries of the Moravian Church, but as lay-assistants to Egede.

1733 At Copenhagen, however, they heard strange news. At the very time when they appeared at the Palace, King Christian VI. had just resolved to send out one more ship to Greenland; this ship would bring back to Denmark the last batch of soldiers; and the three Brethren were, therefore, informed that if they went to Greenland, both Egede and they would be entirely without government protection. Von Pless, the Chamberlain, mentioned other difficulties.

"How do you intend to live?" he asked.

"By the labour of our hands and God's blessing," said Christian David. "We do not intend to be a burden to anybody. We shall build a house and till a piece of land."

"But," said Von Pless, "there is no timber in the country fit for building."

"In that case," replied Christian David, "we shall dig a hole in the ground and live there."

"Nonsense," exclaimed Von Pless, "you shall never be left in the lurch like that. Take wood with you and build a house. Here's fifty dollars for the purpose."

Once more the result at Copenhagen was glorious. In spite of their lack of University education, Christian David and his colleagues soon convinced Von Pless that they did at least know enough theology to preach the Gospel to the Eskimos, and before many weeks the whole court was in favour of the new enterprise. The King himself gave Christian David a letter of introduction to Egede, and said that if all the settlers at Herrnhut desired to go to Greenland he would pay all their expenses; the President of the College of Missions wished them God-speed; and so many presents in money did

the Brethren receive that they were able to stock the ship, not only with stones, wood, and other building materials, but also with household furniture, and a goodly supply of provisions. On April 10th, 1733, the *Caritas* set sail; on May 20th she cast anchor at Godhaab; and the three Brethren, stepping ashore, handed Egede their letter of introduction, and named the place New Herrnhut. The Danish veteran welcomed them warmly, and promised to teach them Eskimo. During the first few weeks the three new missionaries were employed, partly in trying, with Egede's help, to learn the language, and partly in studying the character of the people; and in less than a month they made the painful discovery that Hans Egede in his reports had not exaggerated in the least. One Eskimo stole the Brethren's manuscript; others either refused to speak or merely came to borrow fish-hooks and knives; and others said "The sooner you fools go home the better."

The Brethren soon discovered the cause of the trouble. On the land, with his greasy hands, the Eskimo looked repulsive, and his filthy hut reeked with the smell of stale fish; on the sea he was a brilliant expert; and the reason was that in the sea he found what he valued most. With his sable sea dress around him, and his white buttons gleaming in the sun, he took his seat in his trim kayak and his heart throbbed with the joy of adventure. His skill with his paddle was amazing. He could turn his kayak upside down and hang head-downwards in the water; he could right himself by a jerk and a twist with his paddle; he could spin in a whirlpool, poise on the crest of a wave, steer, tack, and shoot beneath the rocks, and smile defiance to the gales. With his left hand he plied his paddle; with his right he hurled his

harpoon; and the man who invented Eskimo harpoons exhibited signs of genius. The shaft was six feet long. At one end of this shaft there was a detachable head, made of bone, barbed and pointed with iron; fastened to this head there was a long string; this string ran through a hook in the shaft and lay coiled in the kayak, and at the other end of the string there was a bladder. The hunter hurled the harpoon; the head pierced the seal, and detached itself from the shaft; the seal, stung with pain, darted downwards; the bladder, now thrown by the hunter, indicated its whereabouts; and the huntsman, when it came up to breathe, dispatched it with his lances. Sometimes the man was too slow with his bladder, and then the kayak capsized; sometimes the string became entangled with the paddle or coiled itself round his neck; and sometimes the seal dragged the kayak with it almost to the bottom of the sea. At such crises the Eskimo was at his best. Sooner or later the seal returned to the surface; the Eskimo dispatched it with his lances; and then, after refreshing himself by sucking the blood from its neck, he towed it ashore, and told his friends the story of his doughty deed. To the Greenlanders the seal was the one thing needful. From seals they obtained their daily food; from the skins of seals they made their clothes; from the fat, oil for their lamps; from the entrails, windows and curtains; from the sinews, cobbler's thread; from the bones, harpoons and buttons; from the blood, a savoury soup. Without seals they could not live. For seals they prayed, for seals they toiled, for seals they constantly risked their lives. According to the Greenlanders, therefore, every man's character was judged entirely by his skill as a seal-catcher. If he excelled, he could have a wife for the asking; if he failed, all the women

despised him. At all social gatherings the chief topic of discussion was how to manage kayaks and capture seals; at the public concerts the singers sang of seals; and the dying veteran thought of heaven as a place where seals were boiled alive in the kettle.

In spite, however, of this one-sided interest in things material, the Greenlanders were not entirely depraved; and, like many other heathen, they considered themselves the finest nation in the world. Others they called Kablunat, *i.e.*, barbarians; themselves they called Innuit, *i.e.*, the men. Nor was this self-complacency entirely unjustified. They rarely quarrelled; they never swore; they hardly ever committed murder; and, as they knew but little of brewing, they did not often get drunk. In Greenland disputes were generally settled, not by means of the fist, but by means of the tongue. Each of the disputants sang a comic song at the other's expense; the contest took place in public; and the one who could make the most insulting remarks was acclaimed by the audience as the victor. Most of the men were faithful to their wives; and the old people, when too feeble to work, were supported by their sons.

In religion, speaking broadly, they do not seem to have taken much interest. According to the most thoughtful Eskimos, there must be a Creator; in favour of this belief they used what is generally called the cosmological argument; and their mode of stating the case was similar to Archdeacon Paley's famous argument about the watch. "I have often," said an Eskimo to the Brethren, "thought as follows: A kayak does not come into existence of itself. It has to be made by men's hands with great care and skill, and a man who does not understand the job will spoil it. Now, the smallest bird is much more

cunningly made than the best kayak, and no one can make a bird. Again, a man is much cleverer and wiser than any of the animals. Who made him? He comes from his parents. But where did the first men come from? Some say they came out of the earth. If so, how is it that men do not still come out of the earth?" By some of the Eskimos this argument was pushed a little further. As the world was full of good things, the Creator must be benevolent; as there was also pain, however, there must be wicked spirits; and as all men dreaded the future, there was probably something after death. On the other hand, said the Eskimos, no one had ever seen the great Creator; no one, except the priests or angekoks, knew very much about Him; and these angekoks were useful people, not because they were profound theologians or high-class moral teachers, but because, being in touch with a spirit named Torngak, they possessed certain miraculous powers. In theory, the Eskimo believed in the Creator; in fact, he trusted entirely to the angekoks; and these angekoks were highly esteemed. They could climb to heaven on a string and interview the "Fat Sages" there. They could see, in a tub of water, a reflection of what was happening to a lost relative; they could fetch new healthy souls for the sick, breathe new vigour into the languid, enchant arrows, and expel diseases; and above all, when seals were scarce, they knew where to find them. At the bottom of the sea, they said, there lived a wicked she-dragon, who held the seals in bondage; and the angekok, accompanied by his familiar spirit, travelled through the "Kingdom of Souls," crossed a yawning chasm, bearded the old she-dragon in her den, stripped her of her amulets, and thereby released the seals which she had held in bondage. Forthwith the seals rose to the surface; by methods

best known to himself the angekok really had discovered their lairs; and now, appearing in a state of breathless exhaustion, he was hailed as the saviour of his country.

2. FIVE REMARKABLE EVENTS, 1733-8.

For five years the early missionaries in Greenland, like Hans Egede himself, preached to the Eskimos in vain. During those lean years, however, they had certain instructive experiences, and each experience taught the Brethren valuable lessons for the future.

(*a*) *The Quarrel with Egede.* For this disaster we must lay the blame partly on Christian David, and partly on certain heresy-hunters at Copenhagen. At the very time when Christian David was earning the goodwill of the King and his friends, these people started a rumour that the Brethren were not quite sound in the faith; then they wrote letters to that effect to Egede; these letters were conveyed to him by the *Caritas*; and Egede, therefore, at the very outset, regarded his new assistants with suspicion. In the letters the Brethren were described as "Pietists"; that word filled Egede with alarm, and straightway he asked the Brethren to state their views on Justification by Faith. On that great doctrine, he said, the Church of Christ was built. The burden of reply fell on Christian David, and Christian David now committed a blunder. For his services in leading emigrants from Moravia he had long been highly honoured at Herrnhut; Zinzendorf even called him the "Moravian Moses"; and now, being somewhat puffed up with a sense of his own importance, he sat down to his desk, wrote a long elaborate treatise, and explained fully therein, to Egede's unspeakable horror, that while faith might be an excellent thing it was worse than **1733**

useless without stern moral discipline. The two men belonged, in fact, to two different schools of thought. Egede was an Evangelical Protestant. Christian David was rather an ethical teacher. Egede laid the main stress on St. Paul's Epistles; Christian David laid it on the Sermon on the Mount; and, between such men, reconciliation seemed impossible.† In vain Egede offered terms of peace. For the sake of the cause at stake, he was willing to overlook what he honestly considered defects in the Brethren's theology; and in a beautiful letter he declared that he was willing to accept the Brethren as his colleagues. "In spite of the fact," he said, "that you have not studied theology, you are none the less competent to reveal the mystery of Christ to the insane Greenlanders, *i.e.*, as soon as you have mastered the language. I will help you to the best of my power. I rejoice that Christ is preached here; I accept eagerly your proffered help; and as long as you adhere to Divine truth, as I feel sure you will, I recognise you as my brothers and colleagues in the work of the Lord." With this answer, however, Christian David was not satisfied. To him there was something offensive in the suggestion that, while the Brethren were not good theologians, they were at least fitted to preach to lunatics. Down he sat to his desk again, and wrote another hot letter; and then a strange event occurred which immediately ended the dispute.

1733-4 (*b*) *The Small-Pox Epidemic.* Among the passengers on the *Caritas* there was a little Eskimo boy named Charles; this boy now died of small-pox; and during the next nine months the epidemic spread with

†For his conduct on this occasion, Christian David was afterwards severely rebuked by Zinzendorf. "What do you mean," said the Count, in a letter dated August, 1735, "by setting up one system against another? I never make systems myself."—*Brüder-Bote*, 1891, *p.* 190.

great rapidity all along the West Coast of Greenland. The number of deaths was estimated at two thousand. The suffering was terrible. For some reason the pustules did not burst; most of the patients suffered severely both from thirst and pain; and, driven to the verge of madness, they stabbed themselves with harpoons, hurled themselves down precipices into the sea, and died cursing both God and the missionaries. Hans Egede, said an old woman, had taken Charles to Copenhagen; Hans Egede had had him brought back to Greenland; Hans Egede and his colleagues were, therefore, the cause of all the trouble. The old woman's statement was false. Charles had been taken to Copenhagen by traders, and the missionaries were not in the least responsible. On all the missionaries this calamity had the same glorious effect. As soon as the voice of suffering reached their ears, they forgot their theological disputes; both Egede and the Brethren turned their houses into hospitals; and side by side they trudged across the pink snow, visiting hundreds of patients in their huts, burying the dead under mounds of stones and grass, and speaking of the Risen Christ to the dying. Thus did Egede and the Brethren learn that, though they differed from each other in theology, they could join hands in Christian work. For three more years they laboured together in perfect harmony; then, completely worn out, Egede retired from the scene (July 29th, 1736) and was made President of the Danish College of Missions; and his last request to the Brethren was that they would pardon his faults. Meanwhile, however, neither he nor the Brethren had seen one gleam of hope. As soon as the great epidemic was over, the few survivors, who had fled in terror, returned to Godhaab; and yet, even among them, there was not one sign of gratitude. As long as the conversation

turned upon seals, the Eskimos listened with pleasure; but as soon as religious topics were started they grew drowsy, or set up a shout and ran away. "If you will not give us any more stock-fish," they said, " we will not listen to what you have to say."

1735 (*c*) *The Historic Covenant.* On this incident the whole future of the Greenland Mission depended. Once more the situation was critical. At the close of their first year in Greenland, Christian David and Christian Stach retired; soon afterwards their places were taken by Frederick Böhnisch and John Beck; and then, feeling that without perseverance the Greenland Mission would perish, the three missionaries on the spot—Matthew Stach, Frederick Böhnisch, and John Beck—signed their names to what is known as the " Covenant of the Three Brethren " (March 6th, 1735).

1. We will never forget that we came hither resting upon God our Saviour, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, not on the principle of sight, but of faith.
2. The redemption wrought out for us by Christ, through His own blood, shall be our chief doctrine, which we will confirm by our words and actions, as God shall give us ability, and by this we will endeavour to bring the heathen to the obedience of faith.
3. We will prosecute the study of the language with assiduity, patience and hope.
4. We will each acknowledge and value the spirit and graces conferred upon the other, in honour prefer one another, and be subject to each other in the Lord.
5. We will steadfastly maintain brotherly discipline, admonition and correction, according to the rule of Christ, and will withdraw

from anyone who swerves from the purity of the Gospel, until he shall humble himself before God and his Brethren.

6. We will do our outward labour in the name of the Lord, and if anyone is remiss we will remind him of his duty.
7. Yet will we not be over anxious for externals, but cast our care upon Him who feeds the sparrows and clothes the flowers of the field.

Thus did three Moravian laymen resolve that, whether they received provisions from Europe or not, they would remain at their posts; to that covenant each of the three held fast; and thereby they established the mission on a solid basis.

(*d*) *Matthew Stach's Journey.* For the purpose of coming into closer touch with the people, Matthew Stach, in 1737, visited several islands south of New Herrnhut. In his pocket he had passages of Scripture translated by Egede; and, making himself at home among the people, he slept in their filthy huts, ate their greasy blubber, and was so beloved that they asked him to join in their lascivious dances. But as soon as he spoke of things Divine they roared with laughter. **1737**

"Come out," they said, one rainy day, "and pray to your God for fine weather."

"There is no need for that," said Matthew, "you must spread your tent-skins on your rocks. You should rather pray for mercy on your souls."

"But we don't want mercy on our souls," they answered; "your people may have diseased souls, ours are all right."

With his slip of paper in his hand, Matthew delivered his message. "Set your affection on things above," he read out from Colossians, "not on things of the earth."

"Why so?" inquired one Eskimo. In vain Matthew informed the inquirer that he had an immortal soul, and that if he did not repent he would burn in everlasting fire.

"If the Son of God," replied the Eskimo, "is such a terrible being, I don't want to go to Heaven to Him."

"Would you like to go to hell-fire?"

"No; I shall not go there either. I shall stay here on the earth."

No matter what method Matthew tried, the people slammed the door in his face. If he read the Scriptures, they mimicked him; if he taught, they sneered; if he prayed, they beat their drums; if he sang, they howled; if he spoke of God, they giggled; and if he told them the Gospel story, they replied with stories about their angekoks. With a weary heart Matthew returned to New Herrnhut. There his colleagues still laboured in vain; sometimes they were even beaten and stoned; and, feeling that the Greenlanders were almost hopeless, Frederick Böhnisch wrote the pathetic lines:—

Here toils a little group of men,
Endowed with scanty powers;
And day by day, in blank despair,
They count the dreary hours.

1738 (*e*) *The Conversion of Kayarnak, June 2nd,* 1738. For some weeks John Beck had been busy preparing a translation of the Gospels. One summer evening he was working alone; on the table lay his Bible† and manuscript; and looking up, he saw some Eskimos standing at his tent door. Among the number was a young man named Kayarnak.

"What is that book all about?" said one of the group.

†This Bible is now in the Moravian Mission Library, at 32, Fetter Lane, E.C.

John Beck read out a few verses, and then began to expound.

"Do you know," he asked, "that you all possess immortal souls?"

"Yes," they replied.

"Do you know where they will go to after death?"

"Up to the sky" said some. "Deep down below" said others.

"Do you know who made the heavens and the earth and every visible thing?"

"No, we don't," replied the Eskimos, "but it must have been some great and wealthy lord."

For some moments John Beck, just like Egede before him, continued to expound dogmatic theology. Then a sudden inspiration seized him, and, picking up the last page of his manuscript, he began to read from his translation of the Gospels. He had come to St. Matthew's account of the Agony in Gethsemane.

"And He took with Him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. And He fell on His face and prayed, saying, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."

At these words, Kayarnak, with a sudden cry, sprang forward to the table; his eyes shone like stars, and his voice trembled with emotion.

"What is that?" he asked. "Tell me that again; for I, too, would be saved."

At last the ice had melted. For several hours that golden evening John Beck, with tears of joy running down his cheeks, was employed in telling the little company all the details of the Passion History; before the sun set he was joined by Stach and Böhnisch; and some of the Eskimos were so impressed that they asked to be taught to pray. On Kayarnak himself the effect was wonderful.

By the Brethren's dogmatic theology he had been entirely unaffected; by the story of Gethsemane and Calvary he was thrilled and transformed; and next year (March 30th, 1739) he was publicly baptized as the first-fruit of the Greenland Mission.

His conversion roused the enemy to fresh energy. For some months, said Matthew Stach, it seemed as though the Devil himself had been let loose in Greenland. At Disko an aspiring young man tried to carry off Anna Stach by force; at Kanjek the people drank till they were torpid; at another place a youth tied his mother in a sack and buried her alive on a desolate island; and, finally, certain desperadoes stabbed Kayarnak's brother-in-law and hurled his body over a cliff. Kayarnak himself was now in danger, and fled for safety to the south. There his friends asked him to join in a sun-dance. "No," he replied, "I have now another joy, for another sun, Jesus, has risen in my heart." With him as a convert the Brethren were more than satisfied; he conducted prayer meetings, reasoned with the crass, and helped the Brethren in their translation work; and, being the first Eskimo Christian known to history, he has gained a niche in the temple of fame.

3. THE TURN OF THE TIDE (1740).

(*a*) *The Change of Method.* At the very time when the Brethren in Greenland were in the deepest despair, Count Zinzendorf was beginning to preach his so-called "Blood and Wounds Theology"; Andrew Grassman, who came to inspect, now brought this theology to Greenland; and the
1740 Brethren altered their mode of preaching to the Eskimos, not, as we might have imagined, because they were impressed by the case of Kayarnak, but because they were convinced by Grassman's argu-

ments. With the visit of Grassman, therefore, a new era opened in the Greenland Mission. In the past the Brethren had preached abstract theological doctrine; henceforth they adopted the picturesque narrative method. In the past they had discoursed about the Fall of Man and the Plan of Salvation; henceforward they gave the people the Passion History in detail; and the Eskimos themselves soon noticed the difference. At the story of Adam and Eve they had merely wondered; at the story of the Crown of Thorns they wept; and sometimes, at the baptismal service, their tears dripped into the font. "What strange event is this?" they said to the Brethren. "Your present discourse affects us differently from what you were always telling us about God and our first parents. Of course, we used to say that we believed it; but we were quite tired of hearing it. 'What signifies all this to us?' we thought. But now you tell us a really interesting story." But the story of the Cross proved more than interesting. Formerly, the Eskimos had been self-complacent; now, gazing at the crucified Redeemer, they confessed their sins, repented, and asked to be baptized; and, noting this remarkable change, John Beck, in a letter to Zinzendorf, said: "Henceforth, we shall preach nothing but the love of the slaughtered Lamb."

(*b*) *Organization.* As soon as the Eskimos began to repent of their sins, Andrew Grassman perceived that the time had come to establish a branch of the Christian Church in Greenland. First he took Matthew Stach with him to Marienborn on the Wetterau and had him ordained a Presbyter; then Matthew was officially appointed "Teacher of the Greenlanders," and received from the King of Denmark a rescript authorising, not only him, but also all other Moravian ministers, to baptize, marry,

Dec. 12th, 1741

and conduct the Holy Communion; and then,
Mar. 16th, soon after Matthew's return to Greenland, the
1742 Brethren organized New Herrnhut as a Moravian settlement. For this policy their chief reason was that if they could persuade the natives to live all together in one village they would have more efficient control over their moral conduct. The natives gladly responded; New Herrnhut became a flourishing settlement; and the Brethren, following Zinzendorf's example at Herrnhut, formed their converts into bands and classes, taught the children by means of a Catechism, and once a month, on "Congregation Day," gave their people full accounts of missionary work in other lands. In due time, other improvements were introduced. At the special
1747 request of the people themselves a Church for public worship was built and opened; then followed a "Single Brethren's House" and a "Single Sisters' House"; and regular services were now held every day. At six each morning there was a meeting for the baptized; at eight a short service for the whole village; at nine the children learned their Catechism and then went to the day-school; and in the evening there was a service with sermon.

At the same time the Brethren organized the social, industrial and civic life of the people. Among Matthew Stach's assistants the most remarkable was John Sörensen, and the story of Sörensen's call to Greenland is a classic. One day, in 1746, he met Zinzendorf in a garden at Herrnhaag in the Wetterau.

"Would you like to serve the Saviour in Greenland?" asked the Count.

"Here am I, send me," replied the young man. He had never thought of Greenland before.

"But the matter is pressing," said Zinzendorf, "someone is needed at once."

"All right," said Sörensen, "where is the difficulty?

If you will get me a new pair of boots, I will start to-day. My old ones are quite worn out, and I have not another pair."

The boots were bought; the man set off; and a few weeks later he arrived at New Herrnhut. His arrival led to a new movement. During the next forty-seven years he acted, not only as mason, carpenter, blacksmith, and grocer, but also as general manager of the labour department; and, under his supervision, other useful measures were enforced. Old age pensions were introduced; a system of State Insurance was devised; widows and orphans were placed under the care of heads of families; and the Brethren even passed a law that all retailers of scandalous gossip should be excluded from the meetings of the baptized.†

For these services to righteousness and religion all the Brethren were popular; New Herrnhut soon became overcrowded; and so successful was the settlement system considered that two new settlements, further south, were founded, and called Lichtenfels (1758) and Lichtenau (1774). The first of these names means Rock of Light, *i.e.*, Rocky District enlightened by the Gospel; the second means Meadow of Light, *i.e.*, Meadow enlightened by the Gospel; and thus, by building these three settlements, the Brethren laid the foundations of the Greenland Mission. For this peculiar method of work the Brethren have often been both praised and blamed, and the method, let us frankly admit, had both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the Eskimos learned to be good Christian citizens; on the other hand, they also learned to be too much dependent on the missionaries; and the

†With the life at New Herrnhut Zinzendorf was delighted. He said that the place deserved its name, and that was the highest praise that he could give.

consequence was that in later years they became spoiled children.

Meanwhile, one more of Matthew Stach's many adventures must be recorded. In 1747, taking five Eskimos with him, he set off for a grand tour. First, he visited Herrnhut in Saxony, where two of the Eskimos died; then he walked with the three survivors to Zeist in Holland; and then, sailing on the Moravian Ship, the *Irene*, to London, he made his way to Leicester House, and presented his converts to George II., the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family. His visit had some historical importance. By means of this visit Matthew interested the Royal Family in work among Eskimos; and that interest, a few years later, was of some service in Labrador. The chief speaker on this occasion was the Princess.

"Are all Greenlanders dressed like that?" she began.

"Yes," said Matthew, "except that some wear reindeer skin instead of seal skin."

"How many people live in your neighbourhood?"

"About a thousand."

"How do they live?"

"By catching fish and seals. Some shoot reindeer."

"Come closer," said the Princess to Mrs. Stach. "What do *you* do in Greenland?"

"I look after the women," was the answer. "Speak to them of the Saviour, and keep a school for the girls."

"How do the people amuse themselves?"

"The heathen dance and play games with balls; but the converts leave off these things of their own accord and amuse themselves by singing."

"What sort of songs do they sing?"

"For the most part Lutheran hymns, which we

have translated into Eskimo. You can hear the women singing when they gather berries."

For twenty-four years after this interview Matthew Stach laboured patiently in Greenland. He retired in 1771 and spent his last years at Bethabara in North Carolina; and though he never claimed to be a great man, Trapp Ellis, the Moravian poet, was surely justified in saying that

"The name of Matthew Stach must aye endure,
Emblazoned with the saintly and the pure."

Chapter VI.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1734—1808.

1. Georgia; the Cherokees, 1734—1740.

As the fiery Count was returning to Herrnhut from an interview with the Theological Faculty at Tubingen, he heard, to his indignation, that the King of Saxony had issued an insulting edict, wherein His Majesty declared that the Moravians might remain at Herrnhut only as long as they behaved themselves quietly. The Count rose to the occasion. In order to find a home for the Moravians, he sent his young and learned friend, Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, to London to open negotiations there with the trustees for Georgia, and the trustees not only granted five hundred acres of land at Savannah, but even guaranteed religious liberty, and promised that, in time of war, the Brethren should not be compelled to bear arms. As these conditions pleased the Count, he now dispatched the first Moravian colonists, and for their guidance he wrote a treatise entitled "*Instructions for the Colony in Georgia.*" In this treatise, however, the Count made no reference to the Indians. For the present he merely said that the Brethren were not to dispute with others; that, when asked questions, they must tell the simple truth; that they must keep to themselves; and that, as soon as possible, he would send them an ordained minister. At the head of the party was Spangenberg. They landed in Georgia, went to Savannah (April 17th, 1735), and began to till the soil.

But now the Count took an important step which prepared the way for a mission to the Red Indians. As the Moravians in Georgia would

require their own ministers, he applied to Bishop Daniel Ernest Jablonsky for consecration as a Bishop, and when Jablonsky politely refused, he asked him to consecrate David Nitschmann. The Bishop consented; the ceremony was duly performed (March 13th, 1735), and thus David Nitschmann became the first Bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church. He was not, however, to officiate at home, but was rather what we should call a Colonial Bishop, and generally signed himself "D. Nitschmann, Bishop of Foreign Parts"; and Jablonsky himself distinctly asserted in the ordination certificate that thereby he authorised Nitschmann to officiate in Greenland, in America, in the West Indies, and in any other colonies which the Brethen might visit. Thus did Zinzendorf make it clear that although he had no desire to restore the Moravian Church in Germany, he intended to place the foreign missions on a firm ecclesiastical basis. In Germany the Brethren might be suppressed by law; in Georgia, under the British flag, they would march freely ahead in a grand evangelistic campaign; and blazing with zeal for this ideal, he dispatched the second batch of colonists. The expedition was of momentous importance. It opened a new campaign in America, and led to the Evangelical Revival in England.

At the head of the party was Bishop Nitschmann himself; among his comrades were Martin Mack and the Zeisbergers from Zauchtenthal in Moravia. They sailed from Gravesend on the *Simmonds*, and on board that historic vessel was John Wesley, going out in the service of the S.P.G. to preach the Gospel to the Indians. The more John Wesley studied the conduct of the Brethren, the more convinced he became that they were the finest Christians he had ever known. They were, he recorded in his

Nov. 1st, 1735

journal, the gentlest, bravest folk he had ever met. They helped without pay in the working of the ship; they could take a blow without losing their tempers; and when the ship was tossed in the storm they were braver than the sailors themselves. One Sunday the gale was terrific; the sea poured in between the decks; the main sail was torn in tatters; the English passengers screamed with terror; the Brethren calmly sang a hymn.

"Were you not afraid?" said John Wesley.

"I thank God, no," replied the Brother.

"But were not your women and children afraid?"

"No, our women and children are not afraid to die."

Little did that Brother know what dangers lay ahead. John Wesley was deeply impressed. With all his piety he still lacked something that these Brethren possessed. Never had he seen such glorious confidence in God. "How is it thou hast no faith?" he asked himself. With all his zeal he still feared death; and these men, with songs of joy on their lips, smiled at the raging storm.

As soon as this famous party had settled in Georgia, Bishop Nitschmann, true to his commission, ordained Anthony Seifferth; a little later he ordained Spangenberg; and thus occurred the first Protestant ordinations on American soil. At the first ordination Wesley himself was present, and so deeply was he moved by the scene that he felt himself back in the days of the Apostles, and half thought that Paul the Tentmaker, or Peter the Fisherman, was presiding at the ceremony.

The work among the Indians now began in earnest. At the head of affairs was Spangenberg. He kept the accounts, managed the farms, planned the buildings, acted as medical adviser, and even gave the Sisters lessons in cookery. For the

The Mahony mentioned in the narrative is a small creek running into the Lehigh through Gnadenhutten.

George Philip & Son, Ltd.

benefit of the Indian children living in the neighbourhood, he built a school on an island in the River Savannah; and the Cherokees brought their chief, Toms Tschatchi, to hear "the great word." But this work among the Cherokees in Georgia died an early death. At the very time when success seemed imminent, the well-known war between England and Spain broke out (1739); and the Brethren, being summoned to join the British forces, abandoned the colony and marched in a body to Pennsylvania.

2. THE MOHICANS, 1740—1741.

(*a*). *The Base of Operations.*—The great Spangenberg was now in his element. As long as this man remained at the head of affairs, the Brethren managed their work in a masterly manner. They bought some land beside the Lehigh River; they stood leg deep in the snow and felled the trees; they built a fine town and called it Bethlehem; and they made that town a "house of bread" for all the preachers in North America. The grand principle now adopted by Spangenberg was sub-division of labour. In Bethlehem lay the commissariat department; in the Indian villages stood the fighting line. He began by appealing to the virtue of self-sacrifice. In order to cut down the expenses of living, he asked his workers to surrender the comforts of family life. At Bethlehem stood two large houses. In one lived all the Single Brethren; in the other the families, all the husbands in one part, all the wives in another, and all the children, under guardians, in the third. At Nazareth, only ten miles away, the Single Sisters drove their spinning wheels. For the sake of the holy cause of the Gospel the Brethren toiled with brain and hand. They built their own houses; they made their own clothes and boots; they tilled the soil, bred cattle,

grew vegetables, and kept hens; they sawed their own wood, spun their own yarn, wove their own cloth, and baked their own bread; and then, selling at the regular market price what they did not need for their own consumption, they spent the profits in the support of preachers, teachers, and missionaries to the Indians. For a motto the Brethren took the words: "In commune oramus, in commune laboramus, in commune patimur, in commune gaudemus," *i.e.*, together we pray, together we labour, together we suffer, together we rejoice. The motive, however, was not social, but religious. "As Paul," said Spangenberg, "worked with his own hands, so as to be able to preach the Gospel without pay, so we, according to our ability, will do the same; and thus even a child of four will be able, by plucking wool, to serve the Gospel." For this cause the ploughman delved the soil, the joiner sawed, the blacksmith swung his hammer, and the young men, with songs on their lips, felled trees in the forest; for this cause the fond mothers, with tears of joy in their eyes, handed over their children to the care of the guardians, and thus, with fingers free to work, made shoes, cut patterns, ground powder for the chemist's shop, sliced turnips, knitted socks, and copied invoices and letters. As the fireman stoked he felt as important "as if he were guarding the Ark of the Covenant"; and in all the labour the missionary impulse rang like a clarion call. The plan was a brilliant success. For many years the colony of Bethlehem-Nazareth, called by Spangenberg the "Economy," remained the centre, not only of the Mission in North America, but also of the Mission in the West Indies.

But Spangenberg was more than a clever organizer. In addition to finding the money for the men, he found the men for the work. He appointed a

"College of Overseers"; he founded a Mission College and trained the students; and he called his college the School of Prophets, his men the Pilgrim Band, and the whole place the Saviour's Armoury. No man had a cooler head for figures; no man had a keener zeal for missions; and no man attempted a more stupendous task. And that task was the conversion of all the Red Indian tribes in North America.

(*b*). *The Field of Labour.*—With joy the Brethren beheld the spreading field. In those days Red Indians swarmed on every hand. In Dutchess County, New York, resided the Mohicans; in the Wyoming Valley, the Shawanese Indians; in New York, Pennsylvania, and the district south of Lake Ontario, the Iroquois; and in north-west Pennsylvania and Ohio, the Delawares.

At first sight these Indians were an attractive people. They had dark brown skins, black hair and eyes, high cheek-bones, and beautiful snow-white teeth. They could run like deer, scent like blood-hounds, shoot like Boers, speak like Demosthenes, and lie like Ananias. In manners they were generally polite; in morals pure; in battle furious; in revenge implacable. They were fond of dress; painted their faces vermilion; and rejoiced in red collars, red girdles, red-and-blue stockings, corals and feathers. They were fond of tobacco, of rum, of dancing, and of dice. They slept in wigwams; lived by hunting and fishing; and were fond of flitting from one village to another.

In matters of health they showed much common sense. As they lived a good deal in the open air, they sometimes reached a good old age, and the only diseases prevalent among them were pleurisy, colic, rheumatism, diarrhœa, ague and common fevers. For most complaints they used the Turkish

bath. No Indian village was without one. It was a wooden oven, heated with red-hot stones. Three times the patient sweated; three times he cooled himself in the river; and then, the cure complete, he smoked his pipe in peace. As this remedy, however, was not infallible, the Indians had often to resort to other devices. For burns and chilblains they used a decoction of beech-leaves; for boils a poultice of Indian flour; for rheumatism a mixture of drugs; for head-ache and tooth-ache, white walnut bark; for snake-bites, the leaf of the rattlesnake root; for ague, the shrubly elder; for stomach disorders, the red berries of the winter-green; for consumption, the liver-wort; for fevers, the roots of the Virginian Poke, applied to the hands and feet; for emetic purposes, bloodwort and ipecacuanha; and, finally, for small-pox and many other complaints, petroleum oil. In spite, however, of these remedies, the Indians were not a long-lived people. They refused, says Zinzendorf, to wear either trousers or hats; the exposure brought on headaches, boils, and rheumatics, and, therefore, they often grew old at forty and died in the early fifties. As their herbs, of course, did not always act, they had to summon the medicine-man. The physician gave an interesting performance. In return for a fee, paid in advance, he declared that he had received his powers direct from God in a dream, and that the disease was caused by a spirit, who must be driven out into the desert; and then, after prescribing his medicines, he rattled his wolves' teeth, breathed on the patient, squirted juice over his body, scattered hot ashes in the air, made grimaces, roared, howled, crawled into an oven, had the patient brought to the door, and saluted him with horrible grins.

For the needs of the soul the Indians made little provision. They had no temples, no priests, no

religious books, and no regular forms of public worship. And yet they had certain clear religious beliefs. They believed that God, the Great Spirit, was the author of all good; that the devil was the cause of all evil; that the soul of every Indian was immortal; that the Milky Way was the road to Heaven; that Heaven was on one side of the blue, and hell close by on the other; that the good would go to happy hunting-fields, and that, finally, the sinners in hell would have to watch the enjoyments of the saints. On the way of salvation opinions differed. According to some, the road to Heaven was virtue; according to others, every man must purge himself by vomiting; and according to others, he must have the wickedness driven out of him by sticks. Above all, the Indians believed in evil spirits. As these spirits swarmed like mosquitoes, the poor Indians had to take measures of self-defence. For this purpose they used images named manittoes. Every Indian had his manitto; the nature of his manitto was revealed to him in a dream; and the dreamer made his image accordingly, and hung it round his neck.

(*c.*) *Fenimore Cooper's Hero.*—As soon as Spangenberg had enough money in hand, he wrote to the Brethren in Europe asking for volunteers; Christian Henry Rauch responded, and arrived at New York; and then, making his way to Shekomeko, he found himself in the midst of the Mohicans. 1740

He had come to a den of iniquity. Of all the Red Indians of North America the Mohicans were the most degraded. In time of war they were generally fighting the Mohawks; in times of peace they were much addicted to rum, and, therefore, they did not give Rauch a welcome. At first they merely regarded him as a fool; and then, a little later, they threatened to kill him. The leader in vice at Shekomeko was

Tschoop.† He was renowned, even among the Mohicans, as a drunkard; he looked, it was said, more like a bear than a man; and the first time he heard Rauch preach he was so tipsy that he remembered only one word of the sermon. The word he remembered was "blood." He thought about it, dreamed about it, wondered what it could mean.

"What a strange man is this," he thought, "he looks so friendly and yet he talks about blood."

"Why do you talk about blood," said Tschoop, "with such joy in your heart?"

"It is the blood of your Creator," said Rauch, "who came to die for you and cleanse you from your sin."

"But how can blood cleanse from sin?"

"If you love Him, the blood will work upon you."

"But I am so given to drink."

"If you get the blood into your heart," said Rauch, "desire for drink will go."

In a few weeks Tschoop became a Christian, and five years later, at a conference in Bethlehem, he told the story of his conversion.

"Brethren," he said, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old among the heathen. Therefore, I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us that there was a God. We answered: 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place from which thou camest!' Then, again, another preacher came and began to teach us and to say: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk.' We answered: 'Thou fool, dost thou think we don't know that? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest to leave off these

†Tschoop is said to be the original of Chingachgook in Fenimore Cooper's "The Last of the Mohicans."

things; for who steals, or lies, or who is more drunken than thine own people?'"

As Tschoop was not more explicit, we are not quite sure what preachers he meant. They were certainly Englishmen; they were probably Anglican clergymen; and the most reasonable conjecture is that they had been sent to Shekomeko, either by the "Society for the Advancement of Civilisation and Christianity," or by the "New England Society."

But Rauch, having sat at the feet of the Count, came with a different tale.

"He came into my tent," said Tschoop, "sat down beside me, and spoke nearly as follows: 'I come to you in the name of the Lord of Heaven and Earth. He sends to let you know that He will make you happy and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. To this end He became a man, gave His life a ransom for man, and shed His Blood for him.' When he had finished his discourse he lay down upon a board, fatigued by the journey, and fell into a sound sleep. 'What kind of man is this?' thought I. 'There he lies and sleeps. I might kill him and throw him out into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern.' I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when I was asleep I dreamed of the blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard, and I interpreted Christian Henry's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening took place among us. I say, therefore, Brethren, preach Christ our Saviour, His sufferings and death, if you wish your words to gain entrance among the heathen."

For many years this tale continued to be told in Moravian circles as an illustration of the right way to preach the Gospel: the great Spangenberg

himself referred to Rauch as a model, and a hundred years later a British poet enshrined the moral in verse.

GLAD TIDINGS.

We asked an Indian Brother, a warrior of old,
How first among his people the Glad Tidings had been told?
How first the Morning Star arose on their long heathen night,
Till souls who sat in darkness were rejoicing in the light?
And he answered: "Many a summer† has come and gone since then;
Yet well I can remember—I can see it all again.
A teacher came among us, from the country of your birth,
And told us of the living God, Who made the heaven and earth;
But we asked if he had been a fool, or thought that we were so,
For who among our sons did *not* the one Great Spirit know?
So he left us, and another told us much of sin and shame,
And how for sinners was prepared a lake of quenchless flame;
But we bade him teach these things at home, among the pale-faced men,
And if they learned the lesson right, we, too, would listen then.
At last another stranger came, of calm and gentle mien,
And eyes whose light seemed borrowed from yon blue the clouds between;

†A poetic licence; it was only five years. Tschoop was converted in 1740, and told his story in 1745.

Still in my dreams I hear his voice, his smile I still can see,
Though many a summer he has slept† beneath the elder tree.
He told us of a Mighty One, the Lord of Earth and Sky,
Who left His glory in the heavens, for men to bleed and die;
Who loved poor Indian sinners still, and longed to gain their love,
And be their Saviour here and in His Father's house above.
And when his tale was ended, "My friends," he gently said,
"I am weary with my journey, and would fain lay down my head."
So beside our spears and arrows he laid him down to rest,
And slept as sweetly as the babe upon its mother's breast.
Then we looked upon each other, and I whispered, "This is new,
Yes, we have heard glad tidings, and the sleeper knows Him true;
He knows he has a Friend above, or would he slumber here,
With men of war around him, and their war-whoop in his ear?
So we told him on the morrow that he need not journey on,
But stay and tell us further of that living, dying One;
And thus we heard of Jesus first, and felt the wondrous power
Which makes His people willing in His own accepted hour."

†Another poetic licence. Rauch lived another eighteen years, and died at Old Carmel in Jamaica (1763). See Chapter IV.

The conversion of Tschoop created a great sensation. As Tschoop had the courage to defy his mother-in-law, who abused him for becoming a Christian, he was soon regarded as a hero; and so inspiring was his example that Shekomeko became the scene of a revival. The wildest Indians became the most model converts; the most drunken sots became the most staunch abstainers; four other Brethren came to the aid of Rauch, and Shekomeko became such a model village that Conrad Weisser, the official agent for the Province of Pennsylvania, after visiting Shekomeko in person, declared that the Indian converts reminded him of the Primitive Christians.

3. THE COUNT'S ADVENTURES, 1741—1743.

At this point Count Zinzendorf arrived on the scene. As Pennsylvania was then the home of many quarrelling sects, he imagined that it was the very place to introduce his ideals of church unity; and then, after a vain attempt to form the sects into one grand "Congregation of the Spirit," he turned his attention to the Indian Mission, and undertook three journeys of exploration. His ideas about the Indians were rather peculiar. For reasons at which most scholars will probably smile, Count Zinzendorf firmly believed—exactly like William Penn, the Quaker—that the Red Indians of North America were the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. Had they not, he contended, the pale yellow skin described in the Book of Deuteronomy? Did they not, as God had predicted, suffer from jaundice?† Had they not, also, very small families?* Did they not call their

†Deut. XXXIII., 22. "The Lord shall smite thee with mildew." The Hebrew word means "yellow," and the translation in Luther's version is Gelbsucht, *i.e.*, Jaundice.

*Deut. XXVII., 62. "And ye shall be left few in number."

enemies Assaroni, *i.e.*, of course, Assyrians? Did they not use some Hebrew words, such as "achsa" and "anas"; practise certain well-known Jewish customs, and, like the Jews of old, hand on their family feuds from one generation to another?

On his first journey (July, 1742) he visited the Iroquois. As the Iroquois were then a very powerful tribe—consisting of six nations, *i.e.*, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, and Cayugas—Count Zinzendorf was fully convinced that if he could arrange definite terms with them he would be laying a solid basis for future missionary work, and, therefore, accompanied by Peter Böhler, Frederick Martin, and his own daughter Benigna, he now set off across the Blue Mountains and met the six Iroquois Kings at the little village of Tulpehocken.† For two reasons Tulpehocken may be regarded as a place of great importance. In the first place, Zinzendorf wrote there his beautiful "Evening Prayer":—

Jesus, in that calm light,
  Dost Thou not watch to-night?
Moves no one in yon sky
  Before the face so bright
Of Christ the Lamb on high?
  Ah yes, ye Cherubim,
And ye, ye Seraphim,
  Ye all keep watch 'fore Him.

Exalted angels, pray,
  Draw nigh to me and say
How I can fill my place,
  Be on my guard alway,

†In Berks County, Pennsylvania.

That so, by God's own grace,
Each thought and deed of mine
Shall be of Christ's design,
Inspired by love Divine.

Thy Prayers did never cease !
For when for Thee no peace
Was found in house or field,
And work without release
No time for prayer did yield,
Still, while the red sun shone,
Or while calm night came on,
Thou didst keep watch alone.

Now I my soul commend
To Thee, Redeemer, Friend,
That, cleansed and sanctified,
I may unto the end
Still at my post abide.
For only through Thy blood
Can I have courage good
To do that which I would.

In the second place, Tulpehocken is important because there Zinzendorf concluded a treaty with the Iroquois. In response to his request that Moravian Missionaries might preach undisturbed to the Six Nations, he was handed by the six Kings a fathom of one hundred and eighty-six white beads. As white was regarded as a symbol of peace and goodwill, the fathom was in reality a "Safe Conduct," and Zinzendorf handed it over to Spangenberg to be used in all future negotiations.

On his second journey (August, 1742) he visited Shekomeko, conversed with Tschoop, the convert, appointed an elder, an exhorter, and a sexton, formed the other converts into a Helpers' Conference, and

thus organized the first Moravian Indian congregation in North America.

On his third journey (September, 1742) he had a double purpose. In order to strengthen the good feeling between the Moravian Church and the Iroquois, he first visited Shikellimey, King of the Oneidas, at Shamokin, and gained the King's friendship by presenting him with a shirt; and then, hearing that the Shawanese knew nothing of the Christian religion, he paid a visit to them in the Wyoming Valley. But the Shawanese did not give him a cordial welcome. Instead of receiving him as a prophet of God, they regarded him as a thief, and informed him that he had come, not, as he pretended, to preach the Gospel, but to rob them of their silver mines. The Count was bitterly disappointed. He had no fewer than three escapes from sudden death. On the first occasion, as he sat in his tent, two puff-adders crawled over his legs and buried themselves in his papers; on the second, while fording a river, he fell backwards from his horse and was nearly drowned; and on the third, the Shawanese formed a plot to scalp him. For ten days he lived entirely on boiled beans; then, after consulting the Lot, he decided that a Mission to the Shawanese would be hopeless, and thus he returned to Bethlehem a sadder and wiser man. We must not regard his journeys as mere adventures. He had now arrived at certain definite conclusions. At the close of his visit to Pennsylvania, he called a meeting of the Brethren, and laid down a plan of campaign for the future. His friend Spangenberg was to act as General Manager; Bethlehem was still to be the head-quarters of the Mission; and while the work at Shekomeko must be continued, a systematic attempt must be made to preach the Gospel to the Iroquois.

4. THE MISSION TO THE IROQUOIS, 1743—1765.

For twenty-two years after Zinzendorf's departure, the Brethren, with Bethlehem as their headquarters, made a systematic attempt to convert the Six Nations or Iroquois. In this work the chief leader was David Zeisberger, known as the Apostle to the Indians, and the strange and tragic feature of the story is, that while the Brethren, in this campaign, took every reasonable precaution, they found themselves faced by a series of obstacles which baffled the wit of man to overcome. Each move was carefully and skilfully planned; each move promised brilliant success; and each move, in the most marvellous fashion, led to dire disaster.

(1) The first disaster occurred at Shekomeko. For certain obvious financial reasons, the whisky merchants of the State of New York decided that, as Shekomeko was a teetotal village, the sooner the mission could be destroyed the better; and, therefore, to this end, they now accused the Brethren of being Papists in disguise, and also of being in league with the French. The case came up before the New York Assembly, and the New York Assembly swiftly responded. First, they enacted an edict (1742) that "all vagrant preachers, Moravians, and disguised Papists" should be forbidden to preach to the Indians unless they first took the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; then they enacted that all Moravians should forthwith leave the Province; and then three officials arrived at Shekomeko and promptly expelled the Brethren. By means, therefore, of this astute device, the first Moravian Mission to the Indians was almost completely destroyed. For the present the Brethren had to act on the defensive. In order to find a new

home for their converts they built a settlement on the Mahony, named Gnadenhütten; thither the Indian converts gathered, not only from Shekomeko, but also from Pachgatgoch, Wechquadnach, and Meniolagomeka; and during the next ten years Gnadenhütten was a happy harbour of refuge. 1745

(2) The next trouble arose from a foolish Mayor. In strict accordance with Zinzendorf's instructions, the Brethren began their great Mission to the Iroquois by sending two messengers, Zeisberger and Post, to negotiate with the King of the Mohawks at Canajoharie. There the King gave the messengers a courteous welcome, and even promised to teach Zeisberger the Mohawk language; and then, just when the two envoys imagined that they had achieved a triumph, the Mayor of Albany, hearing that they were French spies, had them both arrested and sent to New York. Once more, as in Frederick Martin's case, the whole trouble was connected with the oath. In reply to several questions submitted by Governor Clinton, both Zeisberger and Post declared that they were loyal subjects of George III.; nevertheless, they both refused to take the oath of allegiance, and, therefore, while they were set at liberty, they were warned to appear no more at Canajoharie. For this reason, therefore, the Brethren abandoned Zinzendorf's proposed Mission to the Mohawks. 1745

(3) The next trouble was of a different nature. In those days the chief Indian village in Pennsylvania was Shamokin, now known as Sunbury. For three years (1746-9) Zeisberger and Martin Mack made Shamokin their headquarters; the former, aided by King Shikellimey, prepared an Iroquois dictionary; and then the Brethren had to abandon their cause, not because they were hindered by Government officials, but because the Indians were so drunken 1746-9

and so addicted to brawling that orderly Christian life became impossible.

(4) The next trouble arose from the Seven Years' War. Let us here, however, notice a point of fundamental importance. For the explanation we must turn to London. At the special request of Zinzendorf, who had heard of the Brethren's legal troubles, the British Government passed an Act of Parliament (1749, 22nd Geo. II., cap. 30) whereby the Moravian Church acquired a new legal status, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but also in all the Colonies. The whole situation of the Brethren was now altered. In the past the law had been an obstacle; now the law became their best friend. In the past they had been required to take the oath and to bear arms; now, by the new Act,† they were relieved from each of those obligations. In the past they had been forbidden to preach in the State of New York; now, by the new Act, the road was open, and therefore, seizing their opportunity, the Brethren resolved to build a station at the Iroquois capital, Onondaga. For strategic purposes Onondaga was a place of the highest importance. There, a few miles south of Lake Ontario, the Six Nations made their headquarters. There, in a stately wooden palace, resided the mighty Ganassatico, King of the Onondagas; there he was supposed to reign, not only over his own tribe, but over all the Six Nations; there the other five kings did him obeisance; there assembled the Iroquois Grand Council; and there, at last, the Brethren decided to found a Mission Station. The first task, however, was to obtain permission from the Grand Council. For this purpose two Brethren—David Zeisberger and Bishop Cammerhof—now set off from Bethlehem to

†For a full description of this Act see "History of the Moravian Church," p. 343.

Onondaga (1750). The journey was divided into three stages. For ten days they went by canoe up the Susquehannah, speeding through the wooded hills of the Alleghanies, by graceful flowers of the tulip-tree, round beetling bluffs, through roaring surges, and past groups of mottled rattlesnakes basking in the sun; then, after leaving the river at Tiaga, they pushed on foot through a dark forest swarming with mosquitoes; and, then, skirting the Eastern shore of Lake Cayuga, they rode on horseback to Onondaga. The solemn and critical proceedings now began. At the very time when the Brethren arrived, the Grand Council was in full session; the two envoys were summoned at once to attend; and Cammerhof, aided by his colleague as interpreter, rose to state his mission. 1750

He did not come altogether as a stranger. On April 15th, 1748, he had been adopted a member of the Six Nations. His Indian name was Gallichuro, *i.e.*, "good message." His colleague Zeisberger, known as Ganousserachi, *i.e.*, "on the pumpkin," had been made a member of the Turtle Tribe by King Shikellimey, and Cammerhof, therefore, in his address, spoke not as an European, but as an "Indian."

"Brothers," he said, "Gallichuro and Ganousserachi have come to visit you. They have been sent by their Brothers to give you a message. But first they will rest a few days from the fatigues of their long journey, and then they will meet you and tell you why they have come." The Council House rang with applause; Cammerhof passed round the pipe of peace, and the next meeting was fixed for Midsummer Day.

At this point, however, there occurred an unexpected delay. During the next few weeks most of the Iroquois Council were so drunk that any further deliberations were impossible. Instead, however,

of giving way to despair, the two Brethren seized their opportunity to pay a visit to the Senecas, who lived on the other side of Lake Cayuga. But here the situation was even worse. In the first village which the Brethren visited all the men were drunk; in the second both men and women were drunk, and Zeisberger had to use his fists to keep the women at a distance. Nor was even this the climax of evil. For some nights Cammerhof, smitten with fever, lay at the point of death; Zeisberger, seizing a kettle, went to fetch some water, and the Indians knocked the kettle out of his hands. With sad hearts the two envoys returned to Onondaga. By this time all the members of the Council were sober; the required permission to preach the Gospel was granted, and thus, at last, the Mission to the Iroquois began in earnest. Once more, however, the Brethren took the most elaborate precautions. In order to make perfectly certain that he had the full authority of the Moravian Church behind him, Zeisberger paid a visit to Herrnhut (1751); there he was appointed by Zinzendorf "Perpetual Missionary to the Indians," and thus, when he settled down at Onondaga, he had the satisfactory feeling that he would be among the Indians for life. For three years (1752-5) he was quite successful. In spite of his teetotal habits, he gained the love and confidence of the people. As long as they were sober he lived in the town, and when they were drunk he retired to a hut in the forest. The Grand Council assembled in his town house; the State papers were kept in his study; the Sachems instructed him in the mysteries of wampum. With the aid of Frey and other assistants he built a small Church; a small Christian congregation was formed; and Onondaga, so Zeisberger hoped, would soon become the Jerusalem of the Six Nations.

And then, at one fell blow, his work was shattered. At the very time when the cause at Onondaga was most promising, there broke out the great war (1755-63) between England and France; most of the Indians in Pennsylvania, incited thereto by French priests, who told them that Christ had been born at Paris, and that he had been crucified by Englishmen, espoused the cause of France with fury, shot down English labourers at the plough, split open farmers' heads by the kitchen fire, and even scalped women and children; and therefore, in their dire distress, Spangenberg and his colleagues at Bethlehem summoned Zeisberger to their assistance. No man understood the Indians better; no man would be better able to keep the few Indians loyal to the British flag. For this simple reason, therefore, Zeisberger bade farewell to Onondaga.

But even he could not charm the French Indians. **Nov. 24th, 1755**
As a company of sixteen Brethren and Sisters, one dark November evening, were sitting together round the fire in the Pilgrim House at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony—listening to the moaning wind and speaking about the coming joys of Christmas—some of the dogs in the yard began to bark; Joachim Senseman, the overseer, feeling anxious, struck a light, left the house, and went to see whether the church-door was shut; and then, soon after he had left, the Brethren heard other footsteps in the yard. Without suspecting any danger, Martin Nitschmann opened the door. There, with faces painted red and rifles raised, stood a dozen Shawanese French Indians. The war-whoop rang; the rifles flashed; and Martin Nitschmann fell dead. The firing continued. The room was filled with smoke; five more fell dead, and the rest rushed for the garret. As Mrs. Martin Nitschmann tried to ascend, something caused her to stumble, and falling back-

wards, she was taken prisoner. With the single exception of George Partsch, who managed to escape by a window, the rest now, after barricading the door with bedsteads, lay huddled in the garret. In vain the Indians tried to break down the defence. For a few moments there was a mysterious silence; then faint wisps of smoke stole from the room below into the garret, and in less than five minutes the whole building was in flames. With the joy of demons, the Indians placed a sentinel at the house door; and then, retiring a little distance, stood beholding the tragedy. There, in the garret, lay four men, three women, and a child, and the screams of the little child rang out above the roar of the flames.

"You have deceived our brethren," shouted the Indians, "let us now see whether your Saviour will help you."

The question had a strange answer. For a few moments the sentinel left his post; Joseph Sturgis jumped from the window and fled, and Mrs. Partsch, who followed his example, escaped to a neighbouring hill. There, unperceived by the Indians, she stood and watched the last scene of the tragedy. As the sentinel had not yet returned, George Fabricius now jumped from the window, but, as he made his way to the woods, the Indians saw him, rushed upon him in a body, scalped him down to the eyes, and left him rolling in his own blood. By this time only five were left in the garret, and Mrs. Partsch, from her post on the hill, could not only see but hear. As the flames lapped round her, Mrs. Senseman sat on the edge of her bedstead, and, calm to the bitter end, she testified her faith in her Redeemer.

"It is well, dear Saviour," she said, "it is well. This is no more than I expected." With these triumphant words on her lips, Mrs. Senseman

breathed her last. All five in the garret were burnt to ashes, and a few minutes later the building crashed to the ground. The last hours of Gnadenhütten had now arrived. In order to complete their work, the Indians set fire to the other buildings; all the converts who could do so fled in terror to Bethlehem; and there the redoubtable Spangenberg took measures to meet the situation.

On him the news of the tragedy produced a wonderful effect. At an early hour the following morning he called a meeting of the congregation, told the story of the massacre, and then, acting as a loyal British citizen, prepared to put Bethlehem in a state of defence. For this purpose he surrounded the town with barricades, erected block-houses, appointed sentinels, ordered in guns and ammunition from New York, and even provided the women with paving-stones to hurl on the heads of besiegers. The result was splendid. By means of Spangenberg's energy, Bethlehem became a strong City of Refuge; the Indian converts lived in a building known as the "Indian House;" and acting on Spangenberg's advice, Benjamin Franklin actually built a fort, named Fort Allen, on the ruined site of Gnadenhütten. And that was the strange state of the Mission till the close of the Seven Years' War (1763).

But even the famous Peace of Paris did not bring perfect peace to Pennsylvania. In spite of the fact that their Allies, the French, had been completely defeated, many Indians in Pennsylvania still cherished ideals of independence. For another two years, therefore, the Brethren lived in the midst of bloodshed. As the leading rebel was an Indian Chief named Pontiac, the war is generally known as the Pontiac War; and once again the Moravian converts were in serious danger. At the time when the Pontiac War broke out, some of the

1763-5

converts were living at the little village of Nain, not far from Bethlehem, and now the Brethren had to take measures to prevent these converts from being massacred. With this intent, they appealed once more to the Governor; a British officer duly arrived at Nain; and during the war the converts were sheltered, first at Philadelphia, and then on Province Island, on the Delaware River. Thus, then, did the Mission to the Iroquois die an untimely death. Let us not make any mistake about the cause. At every stage the Brethren's failure was due, not to their own incompetence, but to circumstances over which they had no control. Why did the Brethren abandon Shekomeko? Because they were driven out by whisky-sellers. Why did they abandon the Mission to the Mohawks? Because the Mayor of Albany expelled them. Why did they abandon Onondaga? Because, when the Seven Years' War broke out, Zeisberger was needed at Bethlehem. Why did they abandon Gnadenhütten? Because the station was destroyed by French Indians. Why did they abandon Nain? Because, when the Pontiac War broke out, the converts there were in danger of being massacred. Why, in a word, was the Mission to the Iroquois a failure? Because Pennsylvania was the seat of almost incessant war. At the close of twenty-two years of labour, there were only one hundred and seventy converts.

5. THE MISSION TO THE DELAWARES, 1765—1778.

As soon as peace was firmly established, the Brethren concentrated their energies on a great Mission to the Delawares. In this Mission they endeavoured, not merely to preach to a few, but to convert a whole nation, and during the next twenty-three years, *i.e.*, from the close of the Pontiac War

down to the outbreak of the War of Independence, Zeisberger showed his abilities, not merely as a preacher, but as a builder and organizer. We have come to the brightest part of his career. At the very outset of this new era of peace, the Brethren at Bethlehem realised fully that a golden opportunity had arrived, and Zeisberger and his colleagues received elaborate official instructions. The Indian languages were to be carefully studied; native assistants were to be trained; the Indians were to be taught to read and write; the most important parts of the Bible were to be translated into Delaware; and all the converts were to be taught the duties of Christian citizenship. Let us now see how David Zeisberger carried out these instructions. His method was an adaptation of the Moravian settlement system :—

(1) The first settlement was for the benefit of the Iroquois converts already gained. For this purpose the Brethren selected a village named Machi-wishilusing, on the east side of the Susquehannah. There (1765) Zeisberger built a settlement and named it Friedenshütten ("Tents of Peace"); and there he endeavoured to organize what we should call a model village. His settlement took the form of one long street. In the middle stood the Church on one side and the missionaries' house on the other. The converts lived in twenty-nine houses and thirteen wigwams; behind each house lay a garden; behind the gardens there were corn-fields, and the settlement was surrounded by a palisade. The new settlement soon acquired a great reputation. Instead of merely hunting and fishing, the Indians now devoted their energies to agriculture and commerce; by means of their steady industry they increased the value of the property; and both the Assembly of Pennsylvania and a few generous bankers encouraged them by sending small donations. For the first

1765

time, therefore, the Indians were learning to be good farmers and traders. Some tilled their small holdings; others sold butter, sugar, corn, and pork; and others made canoes. The harder they worked, the happier they seemed to be; and all day long, says Zeisberger himself, they could be heard singing for joy. For the children, of course, there was a small day-school, and a band of women, armed with brooms, kept the long street clean. At Church, the Indians were much impressed by Zeisberger's preaching. "It often happens while I preach," he said, "that they tremble with emotion and shake with fear, until consciousness is nearly gone and they seem to be on the point of fainting." For two years Friedenshütten was the centre of a great revival; one hundred and eighty-six converts were added; and so successful was the experiment that the Brethren now decided to apply the same methods to the Delawares.

1767 (2) At the special request of the Delawares themselves, Zeisberger now took up his abode at Goshgoschunk, on the Alleghany; the members of the Town Council were summoned, and once again, as at Onondaga, Zeisberger solemnly announced his purpose. We have come to the scene of Shussele's picture, "The Power of the Gospel." But the picture does not give a correct impression. In the picture the scene is a forest glade; in reality, the incident occurred in the Council Chamber. In another sense, too, the picture is misleading. The scene must not be regarded as typical. On that occasion Zeisberger was acting, not exactly as a preacher, but rather as an envoy stating his purpose; and the issue of the whole Mission depended on what sort of impression he could make. At Goshgoschunk the Indians were specially wicked, and Zeisberger had been warned that they would not scruple to

kill him. He had never been in such danger before. In the centre burned the watch-fire. Around it squatted the Indians on the floor, the men on one side and the women on the other; and among the men were warriors who had played their part twelve years before in the massacre at Gnadenhütten. The speaker rose; all eyes were fixed upon him; and in the dim and ruddy light those eyes had an evil gleam.

"My friends," began Zeisberger, "I have come to bring you great words and glad tidings, words from our God, tidings of your Redeemer and of our Redeemer. We have told these things at Friedenshütten. They have received them; they are happy; they thank the Saviour that he has brought them from darkness into light; and we bring the peace of God to you."

The speaker paused. The silence was breathless. For anything Zeisberger knew to the contrary, a tomahawk might, at any moment, cleave his skull in twain. There he stood, with a smile on his face, reading the minds of his audience. In the eyes of some he saw the lust of blood; in those of others the tears of repentance. "Never before," he said afterwards, "did I see so clearly painted in the faces of the Indians both the darkness of hell and the world-subduing power of the Gospel." On this occasion Zeisberger excelled himself. By this time he had fully mastered all the subtleties of the Delaware language; all the Indians admired oratorical grace; and Zeisberger, by his eloquence, carried the meeting by storm. "It is true," the red-skins shouted, "that is the way to happiness."

But Zeisberger's hardest fight was still to come. For two years he made a systematic endeavour to establish at Goshgoschunk a settlement similar to that at Friedenshütten. The local Delaware 1768-70

Council sanctioned the Mission, the Sunday services were crowded, and Zeisberger, with the consent of the Council, issued a regulation that no spirits should be sold in the village. His success, however, was only superficial. According to his own statement, he was now in the very stronghold of Satan. There, at Goshgoschunk, he said, Satan himself was worshipped; there he had, so Zeisberger firmly believed, endowed the sorcerers with supernatural powers; and those sorcerers appeared to be able, not only to kill without knife or poison, but even to spread epidemics, sail through the air at night, put the inhabitants to sleep, and then rob them of their property. Nor was this the worst of the case. In addition to terrifying the people, the sorcerers now maligned the missionaries, and attributed every disaster to their presence. In order to strengthen their own infernal powers they gorged on pork; then mysterious messages passed around; and the burden of all the messages was that as the missionaries caused disease, they should forthwith be put to death. Finally, the sorcerers introduced casks of rum; some of the converts themselves began to drink; and Zeisberger, in despair, resolved to abandon Goshgoschunk and seek some other place more free from temptation.

1770 (3) The third station was on the borders of Ohio. In response to the invitation of a Delaware chieftain named Glikkikan, Zeisberger took some land on the Beaver River, and there he built another settlement, and named it Friedenstadt.

1772 (4) The fourth station was in Ohio itself, and here Zeisberger achieved his most brilliant success. The scene was Gekelemukpechunck, the Delaware capital, situated on the Tuscarawas River. There Zeisberger was royally welcomed by Netawetwes himself, King of the Delawares; there, in the Delaware Council

House, he preached the first Protestant sermon in Ohio; there he was granted by the Grand Council a tract of land eighty miles square; and there, on the left bank of the Tuscarawas, he built his beautiful garden city named Schönbrunn, or Beautiful Spring. The site was a fertile valley. At the time when Zeisberger first arrived on the scene, the sides of the valley were studded with oaks, sycamores, maples, cedars, walnut and chestnut trees, laurels and wild flowers; and now, after a few months, chiefly as the result of Indian labour, they were not only covered with potatoes, parsnips, and beans, but also with strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries and other garden fruits. The method of government was partly ecclesiastical and partly democratic. At the head of affairs there was a Governing Board, consisting, not only of the missionaries, but also of the native assistants; and all affairs of special importance were submitted to a public meeting of the citizens. Nor was even this the climax. At one of these public meetings the following stringent regulations were passed:—

1. We will know only the one true God.
2. We will rest on the Lord's Day, and attend public service.
3. We will honour father and mother, and take care of them in old age.
4. No one shall live at Schönbrunn without the permission of the missionaries and their assistants.
5. We will have nothing to do with thieves, murderers, whoremongers, adulterers, or cowards.
6. We will not take part in dances, sacrifices, heathenish festivals, or games.
7. We will use no witchcraft when hunting.

8. We will renounce and abhor all lies, tricks, and deceits of Satan.
9. We will obey our teachers and helpers.
10. We will not scold, nor beat one another, nor tell lies.
11. Whoever injures the property of his neighbour shall make restitution.
12. No man shall have more than one wife, and no woman more than one husband.
13. No intoxicating liquor shall be admitted.
14. No one shall contract debts with traders without permission of the elders.
15. Whoever goes hunting, or a journey, shall inform the minister and stewards.
16. Young people shall not marry without the consent of the minister and their parents.
17. Each person must help freely in building fences or doing any other work for the public good.
18. Each must also provide corn to entertain strangers, and sugar for the Church Lovefeasts.

For many years Schönbrunn was regarded as a model; and other small towns, on similar lines, were built at Gnadenhütten, on the Tuscarawas (1772), Lichtenau, "Meadow of Light" (1776), on the Muskingum, and Salem (1780), higher up the Tuscarawas. British citizens came to view and admire; and Colonel Morgan, an Indian Agent, declared that the Indians in Zeisberger's settlements were now not only thoroughly civilised, but even set an example for whites to follow. Meanwhile, however, Zeisberger himself laid the main stress on the Gospel. Of all the services, the most impressive was that held in the cemetery on Easter Sunday

morning. As the sun rose above the Blue Mountains and the mists dissolved, Zeisberger read out the Moravian Confession of Faith; a trained choir led the responses; and the Easter hymn, sung in the Delaware language, aroused the woodland birds. For all these services to civilisation and religion, Zeisberger never consented to receive one penny of pay. In the morning, with gun on his shoulder, he went to the woods for his dinner; in the afternoon he inspected the farms and workshops; in the evening he pursued his linguistic studies.

He had still another ambition to achieve. The more closely he studied the Indian character, the more convinced he became that the Indians, as a whole, would never rise to great moral heights unless they were entirely removed from the evil influence of whites; and, therefore, he now conceived the design of forming the whole of Ohio into a Christian Indian State. In this design he was supported, not only by Netawetwes, King of the Delawares, but also by a certain White Eyes, a famous chief and councillor. Netawetwes was now a pathetic figure. He was, it is said, one hundred and twenty years old; he desired before he died to see the Delawares a Christian nation; and, having heard that there were various churches, each of which, so he was told, claimed to be the true Church, he actually proposed to sail to England, interview George III. at St. James's Palace, and thereby solve the problem for himself. "Let us accept the word of God," he said to the chief of the Wolf Tribe, "and then leave it to our children as a last Will and Testament." The case of White Eyes was still more striking. At a meeting of the Grand Council he proposed a definite State religion. "I want my people," he said "to embrace the religion which is taught by the white teachers. We shall never be happy until we are

Christians." The schemes of Zeisberger now took definite form. Ohio was to be an Indian State, and the State Church would be the Moravian Church. But such a design could not be carried out without the sanction of the British Government. With the approval, therefore, of Netawetwes, Zeisberger now suggested that White Eyes should go to England and arrange a definite treaty. Let the Delawares, he said, have their territory clearly defined; let their land, by Act of Parliament, be secured to them for ever; let there be a legally recognised State Church; and let there also be an understanding that no blood should be shed on Delaware soil. Thus alone could the Delaware nation play its true part in the world. For some years Zeisberger really believed that this ideal would be realised; and, in a sermon on the text, "The glory of the Lord is risen upon thee," he announced that the day of salvation was close at hand. He was now at the brightest part of his career; he had won the allegiance of the whole Delaware nation; and now, in imagination, he saw the Christian Indian State of Ohio. For what really happened, however, he was not prepared.

6. PARADISE LOST, 1777—1808.

The cause was the American War of Independence. As soon as the tide of war reached Ohio, Zeisberger added the following clause to his list of Rules and Regulations, "We will not go to war, and will not buy anything of warriors taken in war;" and not knowing or caring much about the points at issue, both he and his colleagues endeavoured to preserve an attitude of strict neutrality. "If the Delawares go to war," he said, "we are lost." To that policy Zeisberger held firm. Each side appealed to him for aid; each side urged him to raise a Delaware Army; and each side

received a stern refusal. Let two examples illustrate the point. The first appeal came from the British side. At an early period of the war a Wyandot Indian brought Zeisberger a letter, written, he declared, by the British Governor, urging Zeisberger to arm his converts, place himself at their head as general, drive the rebels out of Ohio, and bring their scalps to Detroit. Zeisberger threw the letter into the fire. Next year (1778) there came an appeal from the American side. In September the American General, McIntosh, appealed to the Delaware Council for captains and warriors, and Zeisberger, alarmed for his converts' safety, asked the Moravian Board at Bethlehem to appeal to Congress and have an Act passed forbidding American officers to enlist Christian Indians in military service. For this policy he had one simple reason. He desired to shield the converts from temptation. As long as he had them under his personal care, he could trust them to keep unspotted from the world; in the army they would learn to pillage, to drink and to gamble, and thus his hopes of a Christian State would be destroyed for ever. The result may be imagined. The more he endeavoured to be neutral, the more he exposed himself to unjust suspicion. Each side had appealed to him in vain; each side, therefore, regarded him as a secret ally of the other; and each side, treating him as an enemy, attacked his settlements with steel and fire.

For the first disaster some readers may consider Zeisberger to blame. In the year 1781 a band of Indians, in the British Service, made a sudden attack on Lichtenau; Zeisberger, in his alarm, appealed to the American general, McIntosh, for protection, and the British authorities, hearing of this appeal, very naturally concluded that Zeisberger was on the American side. At last, they firmly believed, he had

1781

shown his hand. He himself, they said, was clearly a rebel; in his settlements he was hatching treason; and, therefore, for the sake of the Empire, those settlements must be destroyed. The chosen man was Captain Elliott. His conduct was characteristically British. In the interests of his country he was thorough; in the interests of humanity he was considerate. The chief scene of his activities was Gnadenhütten. There Zeisberger and his colleagues had recently assembled most of their converts, and there, in due course, Captain Elliott, with about three hundred Indians, made his appearance. He had now a stern duty to do, and, so far as I can discover, he did it like a gentleman. First, he informed the Christian Indians that they would have to decamp; then, to be on the safe side, he set fire to the premises; then he made a thorough search for arms and ammunition; and then, seizing Zeisberger and his three colleagues—Heckewelder, Senseman, and Mack—and also a number of Indian converts, he carried off the whole party across the Black Swamp to Detroit. To Zeisberger this was the saddest of all his journeys. Behind him Gnadenhütten was in ashes; Schönbrunn and Salem had passed into the hands of hostile Indians; and his dream of a Christian Indian nation had now become a mockery. At Detroit, however, he received a pleasant surprise. The chief officer, Major Peyster, was a just man. In spite of the fact that he had sent Captain Elliott, he had no ill-will towards the missionaries and no desire to destroy their work; and now, after giving them a fair trial, he not only pronounced them "Not Guilty," but also supplied them with clothing from the public stores, consulted with the commander at Quebec with regard to their future abode, and finally issued a passport authorising Zeisberger, Senseman, Mack, and

Heckewelder, to found a new station at Sandusky.

But now (1782) occurred a still more terrible tragedy. As the refugees at Sandusky were in some danger of starvation, about one hundred and fifty Indian converts set off to reap some corn at Gnadenhütten; and, just when they had completed their labours, an American Colonel, David Williamson, arrived, with a few troops, upon the scene. For reasons which have never been fully explained, but which, to him, must have seemed satisfactory, Colonel Williamson was convinced that all those converts were British spies, and after dividing them into two lots, placing the men in one barn and the women and children in another, he asked his own men to say whether he should send them to Pittsburg or have them executed on the spot. With a few exceptions, the soldiers voted for death. 1782

"Let's burn them alive," said some.

"No! No," said others, "let's shoot them and scalp them."

"No," said a third party, "brain them like oxen."

By a large majority the last suggestion was carried. At an early hour the following morning (March 8th, 1782), the soldiers flung open the barn-doors, and asked the prisoners if they were prepared to die.

"We have committed our souls to God," was the answer, "and trust to Him to give us the needful courage."

The Blood-Bath of Gnadenhütten now began. For the second time the soldiers divided the prey. In one slaughter-house they placed the men; in another the women and children; and the men had the honour of being the first victims. The first blow was struck by a private from Pennsylvania. With a cooper's mallet in his right hand he seized an aged convert by the hair, struck one fatal blow, and

removed the scalp with a knife; and then, warming to his work, he shattered fourteen Indian skulls and spilled the brains on the floor. "My arm is tired," he said to a mate; "it is your turn now, but I think I have done pretty well."

His mates continued his work. For several hours the mallets rose and fell; the floor of the house was now littered with corpses, and only one youth, who was merely stunned, managed to make his escape. As soon as the soldiers had finished with the men, they turned to the women and children. One small boy, however, made his escape, and joining the youth already mentioned, in the forest, was able to tell the story at Sandusky. According to evidence collected later, the total number slain that day was ninety; among these was Glikkikan, Zeisberger's friend; and the list included six native assistants, twenty-four women, and twenty-two little children. As soon as the soldiers had finished their work, they set fire to the barns, and then, with scalps hung round their hips, hurried off to seek more victims at Schönbrunn. For many years the bones of the martyrs lay exposed to sun and rain; then pious hands gave them decent burial, and now the scene of the massacre is marked by a plain monument in stone.

The death-tick was tapping at the wall of the Indian Mission. At last—but only for a brief period—Zeisberger gave way to despair. His prime had been a garden of roses; his old age was a crown of thorns. He had now only one consolation left. As soon as the War of American Independence was over, both the British and American Governments, anxious to atone for sins of the past, made him huge grants of land, and thus assisted, he founded new settlements at New Gnadenhütten on the Huron (1782), Pilgerruh (1786), New Salem (1787) on the Huron,

New Fairfield in Canada West (1792), and Goshen (1798), seven miles north-west of Gnadenhütten. In one important respect, however, these settlements were entirely different from the old ones in the Tuscarawas Valley. Formerly his settlements had been inhabited by Indians only; now white traders swarmed on every hand; and as the old rules could no longer be enforced, many of Zeisberger's converts took to drink. For this reason three of his new settlements—New Gnadenhütten, Pilgerruh, and New Salem—had to be abandoned, and now only two stations—New Fairfield and Goshen—remained. And yet Zeisberger did not abandon hope. In spite of the fact that Ohio was now being thickly populated by whites, he still cherished his old ideal of a Christian Indian State, and believing that Christian literature would be required, he prepared the following useful volumes:—

(1) A Delaware and English Spelling Book, with an appendix containing the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, some Scripture passages, and a Liturgy.
(2) A Delaware Hymn Book, with the Easter, Baptismal, and Burial Litanies.
(3) Sermons to Children, translated from Spangenberg.
(4) Spangenberg's "Bodily Care of Children."
(5) Samuel Lieberkühn's "Harmony of the Four Gospels."
(6) A grammatical treatise on the Delaware conjugations.
(7) A lexicon, in seven volumes, of the German and Onondaga languages.
(8) A Delaware Grammar.
(9) An Onondaga Grammar.
(10) A German-Delaware Lexicon.

The first five of these volumes were printed and published; the manuscript of the rest has been preserved, partly in the library of Harvard University, and partly in that of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society, and some day they may prove of service to students of Indian history.

The last scene in Zeisberger's life was one of pathos and beauty. For the "brown Brethren" he had lived, and now, among the "brown Brethren," he laid him down to die. As the old man lay on his death-bed at Goshen (November 17th, 1808), free from pain, fully conscious, and yet too weak to speak, the church-bell was tolled. His converts, in response to the signal, quietly entered the room, and seeing that the end was near, and using the very words that he had taught them, they sang of Jesus, the Prince of Peace, and of the Church Triumphant.

Nov. 17th, 1808

Chapter VII.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1735—1808.

As the Moravians had a great many friends in Holland—where, in fact, they had built a settlement named Heerendyke, designed by Christian David himself, and intended to be a second headquarters for the Missions—and as, moreover, all the Dutch Colonies, especially Surinam and Demerara, were in need of good workmen, Count Zinzendorf now conceived the project of founding a Mission in South America, first among the negro slaves, and secondly among the Indians who roamed the woods and savannahs. With this design, therefore, he sent his friend Spangenberg to Amsterdam; there 1734
Spangenberg stated the case to the Dutch Trading Company; and as the Company promised religious liberty, and also immunity from the oath and from bearing arms, the Count soon (1735) sent out a band of men. For two disagreeable reasons, however, the first part of his design was frustrated. First, the planters in Demerara denounced the Brethren as spies; secondly, the clergy in Paramaribo accused them of immorality; and the consequence was that, leaving the Mission to the Negroes, the Brethren pushed their way south through a hundred miles of jungle and swamp, built a station named Pilgerhut (1740), on the Wironje River, and thereby opened the Mission to the Arawack Indians.†

For twelve years (1748-60) this Mission was under the management of Solomon Schumann, called by Zinzendorf the "Apostle to the Arawacks," and in three ways this man was regarded as a model. First,

†Robinson Crusoe's man, Friday, was an Arawack Indian.

he bravely doffed his coat, chopped down trees, dug his own garden, and thereby taught the Indians the value of work; secondly, he was a splendid linguist, and not only translated into Arawack St. John's Gospel, St. John's Epistles, and the Passion History, but also prepared an Arawack Dictionary and Grammar; and thirdly, being a disciple of Zinzendorf, he introduced to the Arawack Indians Zinzendorf's "Blood and Wounds Theology," and, like Israel in St. Thomas and the Brethren in Greenland, laid all the stress in his preaching, not on any scheme of dogmatic theology, but on the details of the Passion History. For this policy Schumann could give good reasons. According to the evidence of all the missionaries, the Arawack Indians lived in a state of constant terror. In theory they believed in a Divine Creator, named Kururuman; in reality, they feared Jaachi, the devil, who sent diseases; and Schumann conscientiously believed that the only way to destroy this terror was to paint a vivid picture of the Suffering Christ. For this purpose he had in his room a large picture of Christ on the Cross. That Christ, he told his visitors, had come from heaven to destroy the works of the devil, and all those who trusted in Him need not fear death any more. Let one example illustrate Schumann's methods. On one occasion he was visited by a chief from the Orinoco; the scene of the interview was Schumann's study; and Schumann, after sketching the life of Christ, pointed to the large picture on the wall.

"Look there," he said, "that is your Creator, who shed His Blood that you might be saved."

"Have you ever seen Him?" asked the chief.

"Yes," said Schumann, "I prayed to Him, and in spirit He showed me His wounds."

"Will you ever see Him again?"

"Yes, with these very eyes of mine."

"When ?"
"When I go to Him."
"When will you go to Him ?"
"When He calls me to Himself from the earth."
"Will you not die then ?"
"No one who believes his Redeemer dies."

For a while this policy seemed to succeed. As long as Schumann himself remained on the spot, his own noble example seemed sufficient, and no special ethical teaching appeared to be required; in due time two more stations were founded, Sharon on the Saramakka (1755) and Ephraim on the Corentyne (1757); and many of the converts wrote beautiful letters to Herrnhut declaring how deeply they loved the Redeemer, and how they longed to see His face, fall down at His feet, and kiss His wounds. At the third station Dähne, the missionary, had his well-known adventure with the serpent. "As I was going to bed one evening," he says, "a fairly large snake dropped on me from a lath on the roof, coiled itself two or three times round my neck and head, and began to squeeze harder and harder. I was sure my end had come. In order that my Brethren might not suspect that I had been killed by Indians, I seized some chalk and wrote on the table: 'A serpent has killed me.'† At this moment, however, I thought of Christ's promise: 'They shall take up serpents' (Mark xvi., 18). I seized the beast, threw it from me, and fell asleep in my hammock."

For three tragic reasons, however, this Mission to the Arawack Indians came to an untimely end:—

(1) First, in 1765, the negro slaves of Surinam organized a great rebellion; to them all Christians

†It has often been stated that Dähne was bitten by the serpent. In his own narrative, however, there is no mention of a bite, and the reptile, to judge from its conduct, was probably a boa-constrictor.

were alike; and, therefore, besides destroying plantations, they burned to the ground the two chief Moravian stations, Pilgerhut and Sharon.

(2) Secondly, many of the Missionaries died of fever, and this had a bad effect upon the converts. In their sermons the missionaries had said that Christians would never die; now they themselves were dying rapidly; and the Arawacks, therefore, concluded that the Christian religion was a fable. The whole case was frankly put by a sorcerer: "If you will tell us," he argued, "how to go to heaven without dying, I will listen to you. In what way are your people better off than I am? Schumann died; his colleagues died; what, then, are you doing here?"

(3) Guido Burkhardt, the Moravian historian, says that the Brethren failed in this Mission because, while they preached about the Cross, they did not also preach the Sermon on the Mount. No attempt was made to cultivate character; no steps were taken to train native helpers; and thus, when trials came, the converts, like the shallow men in the parable, had not the strength of character to stand the strain. In vain the Brethren founded a fourth station; in vain they named it "Hope"; in vain they taught industrial arts and introduced a system of discipline. The remedy came too late. By this time the Arawack Indians had learned to speak of the Gospel with open contempt; certain youths set fire to the premises, and the Brethren, after consulting the Lot, abandoned the Mission in despair (1808).

Chapter VIII.

THE BUSH NEGROES OF SURINAM, 1765—1813.

With the Bush Negroes of Surinam the Brethren had more success. As soon as the Negro Rebellion was over (1765)—a Rebellion whereby the Bush Negroes attained complete political independence—all white men in Surinam perceived that something must be done to teach them good morals. Without the Gospel, it was held, they would be a constant danger to the State, and guided by these utilitarian motives, Cromlin, Governor of Surinam, besought the Brethren to undertake a Mission. The situation was now entirely changed. In the past, Governor and planters alike had treated the Brethren with scorn; now, smitten with terror, they turned to the Brethren for support. The Bush Negroes were now a powerful political force. For reasons which seem to have been connected with the geography of the country, they proceeded to organize themselves into four great tribes or kingdoms. On the Cottica, the Maroni, the Tapanahone, and the Coermatibo lived the Aukas; on the Surinam, the Saramakkers; on the Saramakka, the Matuaris; and on the Coppename, the Kaffemakas. Each of these four tribes or kingdoms held command of a river; each was ruled by a King or Grandman, fond of fame and power; and each, therefore, might at any moment swoop down to the sea coast and even lay siege to Paramaribo.

But the chief source of danger was the native religion. According to the Bush Negroes, all things in this sad world were managed, not by Grandado, the Creator, who lived in heaven and cared not for

his children, but by two wicked spirits, Bambo, the God of the Woods, and Boembe, the God of the Waters, and each of these two spirits commanded a vast host of demons. Demons dwelt in the boa-constrictor; demons appeared in the form of eremite ants; demons made the cayman terrible; demons haunted the crooked Krumm-holz tree. The result was inevitable. In order to hold these demons at bay, the Bush Negroes had to organize means of defence, and, speaking broadly, they relied on four methods:—

(1) For some reason the Brethren could never fathom, the Bush Negroes had implicit faith in a white clay, named pimba-dotte. With pimba-dotte they daubed their pots; with pimba-dotte they painted their huts; with pimba-dotte they smeared the sick; and with pimba-dotte they coated their medicine bottles.

(2) Secondly, they relied on fetishes and obeahs. These were found in various forms, such as a common pearl, a snail's shell, and a tiger's tooth; and articles of this nature were hung on the dogs to make them swift, on the trees to make them fruitful, and on the children to shield them from danger.

(3) Thirdly, they believed in a guardian angel, named the Kandoo. This angel was generally a spade or besom, and, being hung before the house, was said to keep burglars away.

(4) Finally, and above all, the Bush Negroes believed in Sorcerers. In those days these Sorcerers were known by four different names. Because they dealt in wissi, or poison, they were called Wissimen; because they ruled the Wintis, or demons, they were Wintimen; because they enchanted the Obeahs, they were Obeahmen; and because they could foresee the future, they were Loekomen. In each

of these four departments the Sorcerer exercised his influence. By means of his intimate knowledge of poisons he not only committed murders himself, but also enabled others to wreak revenge; by means of his acquaintance with Wintis—obtained during a hypnotic trance—he became the only spiritual guide; by means of his powers as an Obeahman he was able to manufacture gods, sold those gods in thousands at fabulous prices, and thus became a financial magnate; and by means of his knowledge of the future, he, like prophets in many other countries, controlled the policy of the State. Nor was even this the worst of the case. According to the Sorcerers, many diseases were caused—not, of course, by natural causes, and not even by malicious demons—but by some personal human enemy. That enemy might be a white planter, or even a group of planters, and thus there was the very serious danger that, if the Sorcerers thought they could gain thereby, they might incite the Bush Negroes to renewed acts of war. For this simple reason, therefore, both the Governor and the planters were now in favour of the Mission. As long as the Sorcerers wielded such terrible powers, another war might break out at any moment. Only the Gospel could undermine their influence; only the Gospel could make the Bush Negroes civilised.

At the request, therefore, of the Dutch Government, 1765
the Brethren now commenced a Mission to the Saramakkers on the Surinam River. During the first eleven years (1765-76) the chief leader was Rudolph Stoll, still spoken of, it is said, as "Brother Rudolf"; the first station, Quama (1769), was on the Senthea Creek; and Stoll acquired great influence over the people, not because he was a powerful preacher, but because, by a little tact, he gained the favour of their king, Arabi. The first interview occurred in Stoll's

private room, and the story throws some light on the heathen mind. There, on the wall—just like Schumann—Stoll had a picture of the Crucifixion.

"What is that bright thing on the wall?" asked the young king, Arabi.

"That is a picture," replied Stoll, "of the Great God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. He became a man, suffered and died for your sins and mine. If you give Him your heart, and ask Him for forgiveness, He will make you happy for ever."

"But I am a good man," said Arabi, "I never did a wrong thing in my life."

Stoll adroitly changed the subject. In his hand Arabi held a stick, adorned with parrots' feathers, and Stoll now asked him to explain what it was.

"That is my god-stick," replied Arabi. He had brought it with him as a mascot.

For a few moments Stoll fingered the stick; then he handed it back to Arabi and informed him that by trusting in the stick he was serving the devil; and Arabi, on his return home, threw his god-stick into the kitchen fire. He was trying a bold experiment. "If you are a God," he said, "that fire will not hurt you; but if it does, I have done with you for ever."

The result was Arabi's conversion. For the long period of fifty years (1771-1821) King Arabi warmly supported the Mission; with his assistance Stoll translated the four Gospels into Negro-English; the King himself became known as a preacher, and one of his best sermons has been preserved. Two more stations, Bambey (1774) and New Bambey (1779), were founded a little further up the river.

With the death of Stoll (1777), however, great troubles began. During the next thirty-six years this Mission to the Bush Negroes was one dismal series of disasters. And the cause of those disasters was

disease. In those days Surinam resembled Sierra Leone, the Bush Negroes called it "The Dead Country," and smitten down by three diseases—malaria, dandy-fever, and dysentery—fifteen missionaries found an early death. Most of the others had to retire broken down; only three could stand the climate at all; and, therefore, for the time being, the Mission to the Bush Negroes was abandoned (1813).

Chapter IX.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE HOTTENTOTS, 1736—1744.

For the origin of this Mission we must give the credit to the Halle Missionary, Ziegenbalg. As this man was on his way home from Malabar, he called at Cape Town; there he heard sad tales about the Hottentots, and appealed, on their behalf, to two pastors in Holland; and these men, in their turn, forwarded the appeal to Herrnhut. The man selected to go to South Africa was George Schmidt. For six years this young Protestant hero had lain in a gloomy dungeon in Moravia, with chains on his wrists, fetters on his feet, and the flesh peeling off in flakes from his ankle-bones. Thereby, like many of his colleagues, he had learned to endure hardships, and now, after spending a year at Amsterdam,

Mar. 13th, 1737 chiefly for the purpose of learning Dutch, he set sail for South Africa. At that time the managing board of the Dutch East India Company was generally known as the Chamber of Seventeen; this Chamber gave Schmidt a letter of introduction to the Governor of Cape Town, and therein they urged the Governor to give Schmidt every assistance in his power. For the first few weeks, therefore, George Schmidt had some reason to be hopeful. The Governor welcomed him warmly; the Council of Policy passed a resolution to support him; and the Dutch clergy, on the whole, seemed in favour of the Mission. On his

July 9th, 1737 first evening in Cape Town, however, Schmidt heard the other side of the story. He was sitting in the public room of an inn, and there he heard some local farmers discussing the situation.

"I hear," said one, "that a parson has come here to convert the Hottentots."

"A parson?" quoth another. "The young man is no parson at all. What good can he ever do to the Hottentots? They are stupid; they have no money; and this man actually proposes to bear his own expenses. The poor fool must have lost his head."

"And what, sir, do you think?" said the waiter to Schmidt.

"I," answered Schmidt, "am the very man."

George Schmidt soon found himself in strange surroundings. Is it true, or is it not true, that before George Schmidt arrived no attempt had been made to convert the Hottentots? It is not. For eighty-four years South Africa had been ruled by a Council of Policy, appointed by the Dutch East India Company. That Company, be it remembered, was not merely a commercial Company, but also a religious Society, and one rule in its charter provided that ministers and schoolmasters should be appointed, not only for the benefit of the colonists, but also for the non-Christian native population. To that ideal some of the colonists held true. Van Riebeck, the first Governor, opened a school for slaves; some of the clergy preached to the Hottentots and baptized their converts, and the general understanding seems to have been that if a Hottentot became a Christian he should have the same civic rights as the Dutch themselves. But this was only one side of the story. In so-called Christian South Africa there was a great difference between theory and fact. In theory the Dutch farmers were members of the Dutch Reformed Church; in fact there was only one clergyman to every 24,000 farmers; and the consequence was that most of those farmers were Christians only in name. In theory the Boers were

pledged to instruct the Hottentots in the Christian religion; in fact many of them were bigoted Calvinists, called the Hottentots children of the devil, black ware, and black cattle, ruined them with brandy, sold them as slaves, and sometimes boasted over their cups how many Hottentots they had shot. The situation, in fact, was partly good and partly bad. By a few pious Dutch farmers the Hottentots were well treated; by many others they were badly treated; and most of them, when Schmidt arrived, were still absolute heathen.

Of the origin of the Hottentots little is known. According to some scholars they came originally from the North of Africa; once, it is said, they had been a powerful race, but now, through slavery, drink and small-pox, they had degenerated both in body and in soul. The main facts, as noted by Schmidt, were as follows:—

(*a*) *Social Life.* They lived in villages known as kraals, consisting of wooden huts shaped like bee-hives; tanned leather, carved ivory, baked their own pots and pans, made needles of birds' bones and ropes of rushes and entrails, fed chiefly on flesh, milk, roots and fruits, and not knowing the use of salt, suffered much from indigestion. Marriage was regarded as a sacred contract, adultery was punished with death, and both old people and delicate children were often exposed to wild beasts.

(*b*) *Politics.* At the head of each tribe was a Ranger, this office descending from father to son; and over each village a "Head-man," whose business it was to lead all his people in battle, preside at public debates, administer justice, and knock convicted prisoners on the head.

(*c*) *Religion.* First, they believed in a good God named Toiqua, who, however, lived above the

moon, and did not trouble himself with human affairs; secondly, in Gauna, the devil, the author of all evil; thirdly, in a friendly God, Heitsielib, who consulted with the powers of darkness; fourthly, in the moon herself, who sent both rain and fine weather; fifthly, in a green flying beetle, sometimes called the Hottentots' God; and sixthly, in the power of witch-doctors. Further, the Hottentots spoke of the spirits of the dead, and had, therefore, some belief in immortality.

1737-43 For six years George Schmidt made his headquarters in a valley known then as Bavianskloof, *i.e.*, Glen of Baboons, situated in the Sweet Milk Valley, about one hundred miles east of Cape Town. There he planted a hardy pear tree, famed in Moravian lore; there he built a house and dug a garden; there he taught the natives to dig and plant; there, every afternoon, he taught the boys and girls to read and write; and there, each evening, he gathered the natives around him, read them Zinzendorf's Berlin Discourses, and gave them systematic theological lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

For a long time nothing very wonderful occurred. Each evening, after dark, Schmidt brought his diary up to date; that diary has been preserved, and the Herrnhut Brethren called it "Spice." His diary, however, contains no strange adventures. It is simply the quiet record of a humble worker. Sometimes he lay awake at night tormented with toothache; sometimes he felt lonely and wrote to Herrnhut for assistants; and one night he recorded the sad and, to him, surprising fact that when he expounded St. Paul's theology, the Hottentots did not pay much attention. At last, however, he saw some fruit of his labours. Among those who attended his evening classes, the most intelligent was Willem;

Schmidt now baptized Willem in the Steenbrans River (March 31st, 1742); and soon afterwards he had four more converts. Thus did George Schmidt establish the first native congregation on South African soil.

But now we come to the strange part of the story. As soon as Schmidt began to baptize his converts, the Dutch clergy—holding that, in religious matters, South Africa belonged exclusively to the Dutch State Church—declared that Schmidt had robbed them of their monopoly; Schmidt, however, refused to cease baptizing; and the clergy, appealing to the Classis in Amsterdam, now accused him of three offences. First, they said, he had been ordained, not by imposition of hands, but through an ordination certificate sent by Zinzendorf (true); secondly, being a Herrnhuter, he was a heretic (admitted afterwards by the clergy to be false); and thirdly, he had baptized his converts, not in the presence of witnesses, but in lonely places (true in the case of Willem). For two years Schmidt toiled on at Baviaanskloof; the Classis, however, condemned his baptisms as illegal; and, broken-hearted, Schmidt had to leave South Africa. Forty-one years later (August 2nd, 1785), Schmidt died at Niesky, in Silesia. Around his last moments a legend gathered. As Schmidt belonged to a band of intercessors, and died just about the time when it was his turn to pray, his friends said that he passed to his rest with a prayer for South Africa on his lips; and no story could have been more true to his noble character.

Mar. 4th, 1744

Chapter X.

LABRADOR, 1752—1804.

1. The Government Grant.

As soon as the coast of Labrador became an integral part of the British Empire—*i.e.*, by the Peace of Paris, 1763—the British Government had to consider how to manage the Eskimos. Sir Hugh Pallisser, a pious man, was appointed Governor of Newfoundland, and the interesting feature of the story is that just when Sir Hugh was seeking for men, there was living far away, at Herrnhut, a man whose chief desire in life was to preach the Gospel to the Eskimos. He was a Dane; his name was Jens Haven; and, as he was little in stature, he came to be known as "Little Jens." His desire may be easily explained. For many years the Moravians in London had taken a very deep interest in Labrador; in 1752 they sent John Erhardt on an exploring expedition, and the news that Erhardt had been murdered by Eskimos filled Jens Haven with zeal. For six years, however, Count Zinzendorf kept him waiting. "If you wish to preach in Labrador," he said, "you must first go to Greenland and learn the language. The Lord will clear the way for you." Jens Haven obeyed. During the next four years he **1758-62** assisted Stach in Greenland; then, like Dober, he heard a strange voice in the night; then, obedient to the heavenly vision, he returned to Herrnhut and explained his designs, and finally, he came over to London, consulted a Moravian named James Hutton, and was soon introduced by Hutton to Sir Hugh Pallisser himself.

Sir Hugh soon seized his opportunity. In flat defiance of popular opinion, he held that, while the

Eskimos had committed many murders, the blame rested, not on them alone, but largely, if not entirely, on the traders; all the Eskimos needed, he said, was someone to teach them better; and, therefore, he now not only took Jens Haven with him, but even issued a proclamation in his favour. Jens Haven went out in a double capacity. First, as an agent of the Government, he was to make the Eskimos loyal citizens; secondly, as a Moravian missionary, he would preach the Gospel; and Sir Hugh Pallisser made the situation clear. "As Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan, not only of uniting the people with the English nation, but of instructing them in the Christian religion, I require, by virtue of the power delegated to me, that all men whomsoever it may concern lend him all the assistance in their power."

With this two-fold purpose, therefore, Jens Haven began his campaign. The first interview took place
Sept. 4th, 1764 in Quirpoint Harbour. As the Eskimos had often been swindled by certain traders, Jens Haven's first task was to win their confidence, and, standing on the deck of a fishing smack, he called to some Eskimos paddling their kayaks: "Come over to me," he said, in Eskimo, "I have something to say. I am your friend."

The nearest Eskimo beamed with joy. "Our friend is come," he cried to his mates.

Jens Haven ran down to his cabin, donned his Eskimo dress, had himself rowed to the beach, and there met a group of Eskimos. With his Eskimo dress and his squat little figure, he looked like an Eskimo himself, and the Eskimos themselves were quite deceived. "You must be a countryman of ours," they said.

"I am your countryman and your friend," he answered, and all the Eskimos beamed with pleasure.

For two days Jens Haven—first on an island and then on the harbour beach—fraternised with these blood-thirsty savages, and taking out his "Letter of Safe Conduct," he made the solemn and formal announcement that Labrador was now a British Colony; that George III., King of Great Britain and Ireland, had authorised him, Jens Haven, to preach the Gospel, and that if they would promise to be good, and not commit any more murders, he would come again next year and tell them about the Creator who died for their sins. By his tact Haven broke down all suspicion. The chief angekok kissed him, others beat a drum and shouted, "Our friend has come," and the Eskimo women nearly squeezed him to death. Sir Hugh Pallisser was delighted. Jens Haven told his story in London, and the English Moravians now decided to establish a Mission in Labrador.

For this purpose, therefore, next year (1765) the Brethren sent out four missionaries. Sir Thomas Adams, a British sea captain, conveyed them on a man-of-war. One of the four missionaries, Drachart, had served already in Greenland. The man-of-war cast anchor at Chateau Bay, and there, in the presence not only of Sir Thomas, but also of Sir Hugh Pallisser, Drachart informed the Eskimos that they must be loyal subjects of George III. For about two months the vessel skirted the coast, and all four missionaries chatted with the people. One night Haven and Drachart slept in an angekok's tent, and the Eskimos were more friendly than ever. "You are not Europeans," they said, "you do not come with guns." 1765

Next year (1766) a fresh force came on the field of action. For twenty-five years, unknown to the general public, there had existed in Fetter Lane, 1766

London, a small Missionary Society, founded on March 8th, 1741, and called the "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel."† The chief member was James Hutton, the friend both of John Wesley and of Dr. Johnson, and now the members of this Society made a great and important change in their policy. In the past they had taken an interest in Moravian Missions in general, and had sent no fewer than fifty men to various mission fields; now they gave all their attention to Labrador, and forthwith they applied to the Board of Trade for a grant of one hundred thousand acres. For three years James Hutton bombarded Government officials in vain; then, at last (May 3rd, 1769), a grant of 144,000 acres was made, and Lord Hillsborough, Secretary for the American Colonies, not only expressed his good wishes, but declared that, in his opinion, the Brethren were the only truly public spirited people in England. With the consciousness, therefore, that they had Government support, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel now undertook the Labrador Mission. In order to raise the necessary funds, some Brethren formed the "Labrador Company," and bought a little sloop, the *Jersey Packet*, and the temporary business
1770-97 arrangement was that while the Society would pay the missionaries' travelling expenses, the Company would trade with the natives and hand over to the Society all profits over four per cent.

1770 The next task, of course, was to select the site. For this purpose Jens Haven, Drachart, Stephen Jensen, and eight other Brethren now set sail on the *Jersey*

†On September 17th, 1921, the S.F.G. was incorporated as the "Trust Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel" (Registered Office, Moravian Church House, 32, Fetter Lane, London), and on October 16th, 1921, it was made the Trustee and Representative of Moravian Foreign Missions in all matters of money and property in the United Kingdom.

Packet; the vessel cast anchor at Kingspoint, in Eskimo Bay, *i.e.*, about half-way up the coast, and there Drachart, acting both in the name of the Government and in the name of the S.F.G., negotiated with the natives for the transfer of property. Drachart shewed wonderful tact. Instead of seizing the land by force, he decided to obtain it by purchase, and thus the Eskimos were made to feel that they were being fairly treated. With a large sheet of paper in his hand, he went from tent to tent, taking down the names of the men, asking them to add their mark, and informing them that when the sale was effected the site would be defined by boundary stones. With this proposal the Eskimos were delighted. "Pay up! Pay up!" they cried in glee, "if you pay you can have as much land as ever you like."

"But that is not enough," said Drachart, "how do we know that when we settle down you will not kill us and steal our boats?"

"No! No!" they protested, "we will never steal and murder any more. We and you are Brethren."

"Very good," admitted Drachart, "but from whom shall we buy the land? You have no landlords. I propose to give each of you a useful article; your names on that sheet will witness that you agree; and in years to come your children will read this list."

For the future history of Labrador this conversation was of decisive importance. By the authority of the British Government, and also with the consent of the Eskimos, the S.F.G. became the owner of a tract of land, and one advantage of the arrangement was that any other traders who ventured near could be prevented from interfering. On the other hand the missionaries had been instructed by the Govern-

ment not to interfere with the fishing rights of men trading on the coast.

On August 6th, 1770, two boundary stones were erected. On one was inscribed G.R. III., 1770, on the other U.F., 1770. The paper in Drachart's possession was duly signed, the Eskimos had been duly paid in full, and the preparations for the Mission were now complete.

2. THE THREE STATIONS, 1771—1782.

As soon, then, as the way was clear, the Mission began in earnest. A large party of fourteen—eleven men and three women—was appointed, and the Brethren made a systematic attempt to settle down among the people. For every detail of the work the most elaborate preparations were made. The leader was Christopher Brasen, a doctor; the preachers were Haven and Drachart; seven artisans—John Schneider, Joseph Neisser, Stephen Jensen, William Turner, Christian Lister, Theobald Frech, and James Rhodes—were to act as handymen, and three ladies—the wives of Brasen, Schneider, and Haven—would cook and sew for the whole company. By this combination of talent the Brethren hoped to meet every possible need. The doctor would attend to the sick and bind up wounds; the two preachers would sow the Gospel seed; the artisans would build houses, manage stores, till gardens, and trade with the natives; and the ladies, in their moments of leisure, would visit the Eskimos in their huts and win the confidence of the mothers and girls. Thus, it was hoped, civilisation and religion would, from the outset, go hand in hand.

1771 With this two-fold purpose, therefore, the famous "Fourteen" set sail (May 8th, 1771). The ship was the second Moravian ship, the *Amity*. On

August 10th they landed in Eskimo Bay. First the artisans erected a palisade; then they built a large house; there all the fourteen lived together; and thus Nain, the first station in Labrador, was established. For many years it remained the head-quarters of the work.

Once more, then, as in Greenland, the Brethren adopted their favourite settlement policy, and thereby they hoped to accomplish at least four purposes. By opening trade with the Eskimos they hoped to keep other traders at a distance; secondly, by means of the trade, they hoped to make the Mission self-supporting; thirdly, by setting a good example they hoped to teach the Eskimos industrious habits; and, fourthly, they even ventured to hope that, when Labrador became truly civilised, there would be a substantial improvement in the British fishing industry. Nor was even this the whole of the scheme. In order to manage the work with any efficiency, the Moravians, from the very outset, always had their own ship. Each year, in the early summer, *i.e.*, when the ice had broken, the Moravian ship brought tea, coffee, tinned meats, and other needful groceries; and then in the autumn, she returned to London with seal-skins, fox-skins, cod-liver oil and other Labrador products; and thus the Brethren would pay their own way, keep in touch with the homeland, and welcome fresh recruits from time to time. To all the missionaries in Labrador the annual visit of the ship was the red-letter day of the year. During the winter months they were entirely cut off from the civilised world. By means of the ship alone could they receive building material and food; by means of the ship alone could they receive and send letters; and by means of the ship alone could they hear the latest political or religious news.

For some years, to all appearances, this system worked very well. In strict accordance with their promises, the Eskimos abode by their agreement. With the trade arrangements they were perfectly satisfied. Each year they brought to the station seal-skins, fox-skins, and walrus tusks, and received in return such useful articles as kettles, lances, harpoons, and arrows. In the summer they pitched their tents near Nain, and lived on the friendliest terms with the missionaries; and, before long, large numbers of them learned to make useful articles for themselves. And yet, on the whole, the results were disappointing. In appearance, the Eskimos had become civilised; murders and thefts were now almost unknown; and the consequence was that Lieutenant Curtis, who was sent by the Government to make official inquiries, was able to present a most satisfactory report. "Instead of meeting a herd of brutal savages," he wrote (1773), "you see them practising the duties of society; you behold gentleness and civility, where a little while ago there was nothing seen but ferocity and distrust. It is not alone by precept that they are humanised and improved. They see the harmony which exists among the teachers, and the benefits arising from brotherly friendship and mutual obligations are too striking not to be observed by them. They learn also to be industrious. They learn that every convenience that we enjoy above them is the production of industry. They now begin to taste contentment, and a hitherto unknown happiness is to be discovered among them." But this was not all that Lieutenant Curtis noticed. With the keen eye of a naval officer, he observed that while the Eskimos changed their habits, they had not the least desire to change their religion. "They

perceive," he remarked, "that the advantages which may accrue to them from a belief in the Gospel are not so immediate nor so strikingly apparent."

For nearly thirty years, therefore, the Brethren worked in Labrador with hardly any spiritual success. By the aid of the Government they obtained two more tracts of land, and built two more stations—Okak (1778) and Hopedale (1782). But here again they had the same sad experience, and all along the coast they now observed that while the Eskimos became industrious they still refused, with a few exceptions, to accept the Gospel message. In 1800 the number of converts was only one hundred and two; of these only a few could be trusted, and one of the missionaries, Christian Burckhardt, denounced the Eskimos as hypocrites. In civilisation the Eskimos had advanced, in religion they were as heathen as ever, and the Brethren wondered what the reason could be. "We are working," they wrote, "in a kind of twilight."

3. TUGLAVINA, 1771-93.

At last the Brethren solved the mystery. For some thirty or forty years the uncrowned King of Labrador was a certain high priest, or angekok, named Tuglavina. At the time when the Brethren arrived he already, unknown to them, held supreme authority, and being both wicked and astute, he contrived, while posing as their friend, to institute a secret reign of terror. His influence over the Eskimos was enormous. According to the popular opinion, he was in constant intercourse with Torngak; by Torngak he was informed which men were fit to live and which to die; and, using his influence, he had already caused many mysterious deaths. Because he was an angekok he was almost worshipped; because he was a mighty hunter he

was admired; and because he was a murderer he was feared. As long as this cruel monster held sway, most of the people feared to change their religion. He began by practising a fraud upon the Brethren. At the very time when James Hutton was conducting his final negotiations with the Government, Sir Hugh Pallisser brought to England a bright young Eskimo woman named Mikak, and after her return to Labrador she became the observed of all observers. There she sat in a fine new tent provided by Sir Hugh Pallisser himself, showing the white dress, trimmed with lace and decked with golden stars, presented to her by the Dowager Princess of Wales; there she narrated how she had driven through the streets of London and feasted on salmon at Lindsay House with certain Moravian Brethren; and, airing her English, she smiled on her friends, and said: "How do you do?" The more Tuglavina saw of this proud beauty, the more intensely he desired to marry her. With her at his side he would be more powerful than ever. For this cause, therefore, he pretended to be the Brethen's friend; the Brethren agreed to the marriage, and Tuglavina bore off his bride in triumph. As soon, however, as he had secured his prize, Tuglavina appeared in his true colours. For twenty years, with obvious motives, he plotted against the Brethren. By upholding the old religion he was upholding his own authority; that authority he was resolved to retain, and, therefore, aided by the other angekoks, he urged the people to remain true to the old Eskimo religion. His task was easy. At the time when the Brethren arrived all pious Eskimos still sincerely believed, not only that Torngak, the national god, controlled the winds and the waves, but also that the angekoks alone were able to gain his favour. They alone could address him in prayer, and obtain

from him the kind of weather required; they alone could learn from him where the seals abounded; they alone could enable the hunter to track the fox to his lair; they alone could predict with certainty when the ice would break. To the Eskimos Torngak was still the best friend they had. With the aid of powerful Torngak they could keep body and soul together; he had sent them seals in days gone by, and, therefore, there was no reason why they should change him for another god. As long as they could obtain food for their bodies, most of them cared very little about their souls, and the god who sent the largest seals was the god that they preferred,

On one occasion Jens Haven was brought face to face with the issue. The scene was an Eskimo hut. On an island, outside in the bay, there lay a dead whale; the time was night; the hut was full of Eskimos, and the question under discussion was whether, during the night, the ice would break. If the ice held, the whale could be secured, if not, it would probably be washed away. In order to answer that question, a man now lay down on his back, with a bow fastened to his left leg. On the movement of that bow the whole issue depended. If it moved one way the ice would break; if the other the ice would hold. With awe the trembling Eskimos watched, and suddenly, the bow began to twitch. "What makes it move?" they asked. "Is it Torngak, or is it Jesus?" There, said the Eskimos, lay the crucial test; the god who could move the bow was the god for them, and Tuglavina still held sway in the land because he could perform that sort of miracle.

Nor was this the whole secret of his influence. In addition to working miracles, he pandered to the people's love of strong drink. Still worse, Tuglavina

corrupted the people's morals. For a few years there existed in Chateau Bay a small colony, or settlement, established by some enterprising English traders; thither the cunning Tuglavina conducted excursion parties, and there the foolish Eskimos learned to smoke tobacco and drink rum. The more the Eskimos saw of the traders the more they despised the Brethren. In the Mission stations there was law and order; in the colony there was fun and licence.

"You must be economical with your food," said the missionaries.

"In the south," replied the trippers, "we have as much to eat as we like."

"You must keep outside the palings," said the missionaries.

"In the south," retorted the trippers, "there are no palings."

"You must avoid strong drink," said the missionaries.

"In the south," said the trippers, "we can get rum. Ha! Ha! the warming rum. Rum is good for the native."

By means, therefore, of these annual excursions, Tuglavina led his countrymen into the grossest iniquities. On one convert, a certain Peter, the very first-fruit of the Mission, Tuglavina's influence was disastrous. For a few years Peter set a noble example; then, enticed by Tuglavina, he visited Chateau Bay; then he committed bigamy by marrying a woman and her daughter, and finally, his behaviour became so scandalous that Bishop Spangenberg, who was then at Herrnhut, rebuked him in a pastoral letter. On Peter the letter had not the least effect. "I love Brother Joseph," he remarked, "and I know he is telling the truth; but I need these women for myself and I shan't do without them." With most of the converts it was

just the same. Each man who visited the colony returned a rake; most of the converts now refused to be called by their baptismal names; and the poor Brethren were on the verge of despair.

Still worse, Tuglavina instituted a reign of terror. In order to add to his own dignity, he bought a British officer's hat, laced coat and sword, and strutting about in these regimentals, he boasted of the enemies he had slain. On one of his trips to Chateau Bay he took five converts with him. One of these, named Moses, he shot himself, two others he had secretly murdered, the fourth died, he reported, of blood-poisoning, and only one, a woman named Deborah, returned to the Mission station. Nor was Tuglavina in the least ashamed.

"Where is Moses?" asked the bewildered Brethren.

"He is lost," replied Tuglavina.

"But where is he gone? over the sea?"

"Not he," smiled Tuglavina, "I killed him."

"Killed him! Why did you do that?"

"Because he was a good-for-nothing."

By these three methods, therefore—by posing as an angekok, by inciting to drink and immorality, and by a series of murders—Tuglavina bade defiance to the Brethren. But even he was not beyond redemption. For some reason which has never been fully explained—perhaps because when his muscles grew flabby he was no longer feared and respected, and perhaps because all his wives deserted him and left him time for solitary reflection—Tuglavina, in his old age, became a gentler and a wiser man, and **1793** repenting sincerely of all his abominations, he not only became a Christian, noted for his humility, but even rendered service as a lay preacher.

4. THE REVIVAL, 1799—1804.

The result was even better than the Brethren **1799-1804**

hoped. For about ten years after Tuglavina's conversion, the Brethren noticed a slow and steady improvement in the general conduct of the people; other angekoks followed Tuglavina's example; and finally, in 1804, there spread along the whole coast a revival which the Brethren themselves described as a Pentecost. Let us look at two or three typical cases.

The first case was that of an angekok named Kapick. For some years this notorious impostor was one of Tuglavina's most powerful agents; on several occasions he had declared that if the people did not commit certain sins, Torngak himself would strike them dead; and now, one memorable night (November 12th, 1799) he beheld a celestial phenomenon which filled him with terror. The story must not be dismissed as a mere legend. According to the Brethren themselves, there really was something strange in the sky, and the same phenomenon was observed in Greenland. For several hours it seemed to them as though the stars were falling; these stars were red-gold in colour, and appeared, so the Brethren said, to be about eighteen inches in diameter; and Kapick, who, in the services at Hopedale, had heard the Brethren read the words, "And the stars shall fall from heaven," drew the very natural conclusion that the Second Coming was close at hand.† Forthwith, therefore, Kapick became a Christian; forthwith he ran from hut to hut, preaching the Gospel with fervour; and the Brethren, taking the tide at the flood, distributed among the people copies, in the Eskimo tongue, of the Passion History.

The next case was that of a sinful woman. At the

†Was this phenomenon merely the Aurora Borealis? No. In Labrador the Aurora Borealis is a fairly common sight; and this appearance in 1799 was something quite unusual.

close of a service in Hopedale, this woman, to the missionary's surprise, made the amazing declaration that she was the " wickedest " person in the country. In the past, like most Eskimos, she had been remarkably self-complacent; now, feeling unfit for human society, she lay down to sleep among the dogs, and the missionary rightly regarded her case as a sign that a new spirit was at work.

The next case was that of a man named Siksigak. His conduct was certainly remarkable. First, being tired of his wife, he took her back to her mother; then, being rebuked by his own mother, he fled in terror to the Mission-house, and, falling down at the missionary's feet, exclaimed: " I'm a sinner. I am lost. I am going to hell." Then, acting on the missionary's suggestion, he restored his injured wife to favour, became a model husband, and preached the Gospel with singular power both at Hopedale and at Nain.

Meanwhile, the Brethren had made a remarkable discovery. In addition to Tuglavina, another Satanic force had, during all the thirty years, been at work; that force, to state the truth bluntly, was sodomy in its worst forms; and, as the people now abandoned this vice, the great revival became the means of a genuine moral revolution. In the past the people had been not only murderers and robbers, but fornicators, adulterers, and sodomites; now they were learning to be both honest and pure, and thus they acquired new vigour of body and new moral ideals. For this reason the Great Revival was a movement of the highest value. It saved the Eskimos of Labrador from destruction.

Chapter XI.

THE MISSION TO THE JEWS, 1738—1742.

As Zinzendorf pondered on the great missionary problem, he gradually came to the conclusion that while the Church of Christ was justified in sending the Gospel to the heathen, her first duty was to preach to the Jews, and speaking at a meeting in London (March 7th, 1743) soon after his return from North America, where, as he sincerely believed, he had discovered the Lost Ten Tribes, he solemnly declared that until the Jews were converted, until Christ Himself appeared to them and showed them His wounds, and until, like St. Thomas, they fell at His feet and adored Him as God, not a single heathen nation would accept the Christian religion. In this idea we find the key to Zinzendorf's missionary policy. In a few years, he said, Christ would appear to the Jews; that appearance would bring about their conversion, and then the Jews themselves would become the most powerful preachers of the Gospel. With their aid the Christian religion would triumph; without it, it could appeal only to a few. "Let us then," he insisted, "concentrate our attention on the Jews; let us now prepare their minds for the coming of Christ; and meanwhile, till that miracle occurs, let us possess our souls in patience."

His ideas had not been hastily formed. During the previous twenty-four years he had kept in close touch with Jews. In 1719, *e.g.*, he inserted a clause about the Jews in the rules of his "Order of the Mustard Seed"; in 1720, while at his aunt's house at Castell, he made the acquaintance of a Jewish girl who was being prepared

for baptism, and not only acted as sponsor, but composed a hymn for the occasion; in 1721, while at Dresden, he appealed to the Jews of that city through the pages of his magazine, "The Dresden Socrates"; in 1730, he preached to Jews at Berleborg in the Wetterau; in 1731, he preached to Jews at Herrnhut, and even arranged that all who cared to stay should receive suitable employment; and further, in 1736, after he had been banished from Saxony, and made his headquarters in the Wetterau, he repeatedly visited the Jews who lived around Ronneburg Castle, ate black bread at their tables, invited the children to tea in his own house, had the poorest children taught and fed, and told them all, young and old, the story of the Redeemer. At last, it is said, he 1736
had an experience which made him more enthusiastic than ever. According to the author of that delightful book, "Zinzendorf in the Wetterau"—a romance based on fact—Zinzendorf, one bright June evening, met a certain Rabbi Abraham; and, after the two had shaken hands, the Count made an endeavour to gain his confidence. "Gray hairs," he said, "are a crown of glory. I can see from your face and the look in your eyes that you have had much experience both of heart and of life. In the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob let us be friends." On the Rabbi these simple words had a strange effect. For the first time in his long life he had been addressed kindly by a Christian; henceforth he and the Count were friends, and a few days later the Rabbi unburdened his soul.

As the two ascended a wooded hill—one morning, a little before sunrise—the old man wept and wrung his hands, and there, before them, stood a Church, with a golden cross on the spire.

"My heart," said the Rabbi, "is longing for the

dawn. I am sick, yet know not what ails me. I am looking for something, yet I know not what I seek. I am like one who is chased, yet I see no enemy, except the one within me, my old evil heart." Never had Zinzendorf been more profoundly impressed. The more he listened to the old man, the more convinced he became that once again he had found a Candace-Soul; and speaking with the tongue of a poet, he told the story of Calvary. And meanwhile the sun had risen, and the cross was bathed in light. To Zinzendorf the sight was providential. There, on the Church spire, shone the sign of God's love.

"See there, Abraham," said the Count, "a sign from heaven for you. The God of your fathers has placed the Cross before you, and now the rising sun from on high has tinged it with heavenly glory."

"So be it," replied the Rabbi, "blessed be the Lord who has had mercy on me."

In spite, however, of this experience, the Count
1736-39 acted with caution. During the next three years he continued to study the problem, and the question that troubled him was how, and in what form, should the Gospel he preached. Step by step, he arrived at the solution. At a Synod held at Marienborn (1736), he had already informed the Brethren that he was
1738 studying the problem; then, just as an experiment, he allowed Leonard Dober to preach in the Jewish quarter at Amsterdam; then he published an elaborate treatise, declaring that no Jew could be saved unless he believed both in the Deity and in the Atonement of Christ; then, in a volume entitled "Random Gleanings," he made a fervent appeal to the Christian public (1739); and then, after meeting a Jew on his way home from St. Thomas, he decided to begin the work in earnest. On two fundamental points he had now arrived at a definite

decision. The first was the nature of the message, and that message was "Jesus is God." The second was the divinely appointed preacher, and that preacher was a learned theologian, Samuel Lieberkühn.

For a very strange reason, however, Zinzendorf's scheme miscarried. Between him and Lieberkühn there was a fundamental difference. For some years before he received his appointment to Amsterdam, Samuel Lieberkühn, like the Count himself, had often come into close contact with Jews, and one result of his experience was that, while he had the deepest respect for Zinzendorf, he had formed his own ideas about the best method of preaching the Gospel. The difference between the men may be briefly stated. According to Zinzendorf, the preacher should begin with definite dogma, and lay all the stress on the Deity of Christ; according to Lieberkühn this dogma, being rather offensive to the Jews, should at first be kept in the background, and the preacher, therefore, should begin, not by stating that Jesus was God, but by showing that He could save from sin. According to the Count, theology should come first and experience second; according to Lieberkühn, experience first and theology second; and the question has often been discussed which of the two was in the right. Let us now see how Lieberkühn applied his methods.

1739-41 For two years Lieberkühn lived in the Jewish quarter at Amsterdam. At that time the Jews on the continent were divided into two classes, Rabbinites, *i.e.*, those who accepted the Talmud, and Karaites, those who rejected it, and as the Amsterdam Jews were Rabbinites, Lieberkühn soon perceived that he would have to act with caution. As long as they accepted the Talmud, there was little chance that they would give him a hearing. In the Old

Testament, they said, God had clearly expounded the way of salvation; in the Talmud the Rabbis had explained how that way of salvation should be interpreted; and one part of the Rabbis' teaching was that all Christians were sinners, that Christ Himself was a criminal, and that even the use of His name polluted the lips. At the very outset, therefore, Lieberkühn found himself in an atmosphere of bitter hostility and suspicion. Some of the Jews thought that he was a Jew; others that he was a colporteur from Callenberg's *Institutum Judaicum*; and others that he would libel them in a book. "What is this evil dog doing here?" they said. "He has come to learn all about us." But Lieberkühn soon gained their confidence. In order to shew that he was their genuine friend, he attended the Synagogue every morning and evening, took lessons in Jewish law with a Rabbi, joined one of their benefit societies and subscribed to their charitable funds, and even abstained from eating food which they accounted unclean. He was soon a welcome guest in every home. The Jews nicknamed him "Rabbi Shmuel," and, a hundred years later, stories of his goodness were still repeated. His methods of work were as follows:—

(1) He avoided dogmatic theology. He never preached that Jesus was the Creator; never asserted, unless challenged, that Jesus was God; and never even referred to the Holy Trinity. The more a man preached such dogmas, he said, the more he would be involved in barren discussions. "There is nothing more offensive to the Jews," he declared, "than the doctrine that Christ is God. They cannot reconcile it with their principle, Jehovah is our God, and Jehovah alone." Let the Jews, he insisted, first be convinced of sin; let them turn to Christ for redemption; and then, when they found that He

could save, they would worship Him as God.

(2) He did not appeal to Old Testament prophecy. For this policy Lieberkühn gave a very good reason. In the days of the Apostles, he said, all Jews recognised that certain prophecies were Messianic; since then, however, the Rabbis had given those prophecies another meaning, and, as the Rabbis were implicitly believed, argument on those lines would be useless.

(3) He laid a great deal of stress on the self-consciousness of Jesus, and thereby employed the method afterwards elaborated by Canon Liddon.† Jesus, said Lieberkühn, regarded Himself as the Messiah, and that fact must be taken into consideration. Did not the High Priest say to Jesus: "I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God, the Son of the Blessed"? And did not Jesus answer distinctly, "I am"? For making that claim, said Lieberkühn, Jesus was condemned to death, and the fact that He was willing to suffer proved at least that He was sincere.

(4) He laid great stress on the Resurrection. "If Jesus," he argued, "had been an evil doer, God would never have raised Him from the dead."

"What difference does that make?" said a Jew. "What does it matter to us whether He rose from the dead or not?"

"It matters everything," said another; "if the Resurrection is true, the whole Gospel must be true."

By means, therefore, of purely historical arguments Lieberkühn endeavoured to prove that God had raised Jesus from the dead. Jesus, he said, had really been seen, not merely, as some Jews held, by two hysterical women, but by the eleven Apostles and

† "The Divinity of our Lord." Lecture IV.

by five hundred Jews. The same argument has often been used in our days. It is used by A. B. Bruce in his "Apologetics," and by many other theologians.

(5) Finally, like Dr. Dale in his "Living Christ and the Four Gospels," Lieberkühn laid great stress on what he called the "Inward Witness." "We Brethren," he said, "are certain that Jesus lives, because we experience His saving power."

Thus, by purely scientific methods—by appealing to undoubted facts—did Lieberkühn deal with the Jews at Amsterdam; most of his hearers loved him fondly, and some were half-convinced by his arguments; and, personally, I incline to the opinion that if he had been allowed to continue his work, his efforts would probably have been crowned with success.

At this point, however, a great disaster occurred. As Lieberkühn still refused to preach the Deity of Christ, an absurd rumour spread in Moravian circles that he was a Unitarian, and Zinzendorf, who inclined to the same opinion, rebuked Lieberkühn for his methods of work. He even objected to Lieberkühn's statement that God had raised Jesus from the dead.

"Nonsense," said the fiery Count, using the English word. "He died and rose of His own free will. He said distinctly, 'I have power to take it again,' and when the Apostles said that God raised Him up, they were mere Unitarians themselves."

Filled, then, with these suspicions, the Count recalled Lieberkühn from Amsterdam, and the Mission to the Jews turned out a failure—not because, as Dr. Dalman suggests, Zinzendorf offended the Jews by insisting on the Deity of Christ, but rather because, when he had a good man, he had not the wisdom to give him a fair chance. By dismissing Lieberkühn from office, Zinzendorf gave the Mission to the Jews

its death-blow. For the next few years he merely played with the project. First, he sent to Amsterdam a theologian after his own heart, Otto William Hassé (1741-3), who, being delicate, speedily died; then he asked a young man and woman, David Kirchhof and Esther Grünbeck, to marry and settle down at Amsterdam; then, soon after the wedding, he changed his mind, and after his return from America (1743) he issued a solemn proclamation to all Jews that in a very few years Christ Himself would appear in the flesh, shew the Jews His wounds, and thereby, in a miraculous manner, bring about their conversion. "Hear, O! Israel," he announced, "the voice of the God of Jacob. He will in these days reveal Himself to you. He will shew you the power and majesty of the great Messiah! He has already taken the work in hand. The time is not far off. I kiss you in spirit; I wait with you for the coming of your Redeemer."†

His plan of campaign was now entirely altered. As long as Christ delayed His expected appearance, so long, said the Count, would further preaching to the Jews be useless; and, therefore, the Brethren's duty was, not to preach, but to pray and wait for the appearance of Christ. "The time for the Jews," he declared, "has not yet come."

His colleagues took him at his word. Instead of preaching the Gospel to the Jews, the Moravian Church, since then, has simply been content to wait and pray. In the Sunday Liturgy there is the prayer, "Have mercy on Thy ancient covenant people, the Jews; deliver them from their blindness." In 1889 the General Synod recommended prayer for the Jews on, or near, the Day of Atonement, and recently the British Moravian Prayer Union has adopted the petition, "Bless the first-

† "Freiwillige Nachlese," Vol. III., pp. 62—69.

fruits of Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved."

Thus, by his autocratic conduct, did Zinzendorf destroy Lieberkühn's life work. For three good reasons, however, Lieberkühn's memory should be held in high honour :—(1) His work among the Jews was not an absolute failure. In a volume entitled "At Home and Abroad,"† there is an instructive story told by a modern convert, Rabbi Joseph. He is speaking about his grandfather, and says, "There came in those days some famous preacher from Zeist, who preached in one of the churches to convert our Brethren to Christianity, as you do. The preacher was considered by many people a converted Israelite, and was therefore called 'Rabbi Shmuel.' He exercised a magic power over all who listened to him, and hundreds of Jews flocked to hear him, and amongst them my grandfather, who, from being the greatest enemy to Christianity, became, to the great consternation of the whole congregation of the Israelites, its greatest defender." (2) Secondly,
1769 Lieberkühn, anticipating Tischendorf, published an excellent "Harmony of the Gospels." This book was often translated, and proved of great service in the Mission Field, and the last part, containing the "Passion History," is still used in every branch of the Moravian Church. (3) Thirdly, Lieberkühn, as a theologian, was in advance of his times. In order to prove that Jesus was the Messiah he appealed to the double evidence of history and experience, and most theologians will admit that his methods were thoroughly sound.

†A description of the English and Continental Missions of the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 1900. p. 89.

Chapter XII.

THE FLYING SCOUTS, 1734—1822.

As long as the Lord delayed His coming to the Jews, Count Zinzendorf adhered to his conviction that no heathen nation, as such, could or would accept the Christian religion. The time for the heathen, he said, had not yet arrived, and therefore, instead of strengthening the causes already established—such as those in the West Indies, Greenland, and North America—he spent large sums of money in sending messengers in all directions in search of what he called Candace-Souls. His policy, though strange, was perfectly clear. Each nation, he declared, possessed a few chosen spirits in search of the truth; such men he called Candace-Souls, and the chief business of the Church of Christ was to find them and gratify their aspirations.

(1) Lapland. He began by sending three men, Andrew Grassman, Daniel Schneider, and John Nitschmann, to Lapland. The three men embarked at Stockholm and sailed up the east coast of Sweden as far as Uleaborg. At this place Andrew Grassman met a few Lapps; these men took him across the snow to Kreusano, and there the parish priest informed him that his parish was at least three hundred miles square. Further ahead, said the priest, there lived real heathen; these heathen Andrew Grassman visited, and found, to his surprise, that they had no vices except those which they had learned from so-called Christians. In 1739 the Count sent out another expedition. His agents were Behr and Ostergren. For two years these men lived in a little market town about two hundred miles north of Tornea; there they discovered a

1734

wooden church, where the minister preached about once a year; and further, they were correctly informed that Lapland, at least in theory, was divided into parishes. From these facts Zinzendorf drew his own conclusions. Lapland, he said, was already provided for, and no Moravian missionaries would be needed.

1736 (2) THE SAMOYEDES. On this expedition Zinzendorf's agents—Andrew Grassman, John Schneider, and Mieksch—made a very serious mistake. Instead of dealing openly with the Russian Government, they, when taking out their passports, described themselves as mechanics. At St. Petersburg they were caught preaching, and thus the little fraud was discovered, and the Empress of Russia, Catherine II., who was duly informed, not only sent them back to Herrnhut, but warned them that, if they repeated the offence, she would have them burned alive. Thus did three Moravian missionaries learn that deceit, even in a holy cause, is both a crime and a blunder.

1736 (3) GUINEA, on the West Coast of Africa. The two agents were Christian Protten and Henry Huckoff. As Protten had been born in Guinea, and could speak the native language, the Count naturally hoped for some success. Nevertheless, the expedition was a failure. Protten tried, but tried in vain, to open a school at Elmina; Huckoff died, and Protten, fearing to remain alone, returned forthwith to Europe. At the special request, however, of the Guinea Company, the Brethren, soon after Zinzendorf's death, attempted to renew the enterprise. In 1768-9 nine Moravian missionaries landed in Guinea; all nine speedily died on the spot; and the Brethren, for obvious reasons, abandoned the project.

(4) CEYLON. The two agents were Dr. Eller and David Nitschmann III. At Colombo they made the rather painful discovery that a certain libellous "Pastoral Letter," published a few years earlier in Amsterdam, in which the Brethren were described as heretics, had been greedily devoured by the Dutch Clergy, and now these clergy even asserted that the Brethren were atheists. To stay in Colombo, therefore, was impossible. At the Governor's suggestion, they retreated inland, settled down in a village named Magorugampell, and began to preach to the natives. Once more a simple blunder wrecked the cause. Instead of remaining at his post in the country, Dr. Eller came to Colombo to visit some Christian friends; he did not realise, of course, that what might be permitted in Europe was a serious crime in Ceylon. The Dutch clergy accused him of sheep-stealing; the Governor sent for both of the Brethren and told them to return to the natives; and the Brethren, feeling grossly insulted, returned forthwith to Herrnhut. 1739

(5) ALGIERS. In order to prepare the way for this enterprise, Count Zinzendorf wrote to Paravicini, the Dutch Consul, explaining that his only purpose was to lead the slaves to Christ and teach them good conduct. With this letter Paravicini appears to have been satisfied. The chosen apostle was Abraham Richter. For about six months he did most excellent work, preaching in public on Fridays, visiting the slaves in their bagnios and attending to the sick free of charge. At this point, however, Algiers was visited by a pestilence; the number of deaths soon rose to 30,000; and among the victims was Abraham Richter himself. 1739 1740

(6) CONSTANTINOPLE. In this enterprise Zinzendorf had a special purpose. As the first two missionaries 1740

to Bohemia and Moravia, Cyril and Methodius, had come from the Greek Church in Constantinople, and as, therefore, there existed a certain affinity between the Greek Church and the Moravian Church, Count Zinzendorf naturally hoped that, if he could enlist the sympathy of the local Patriarch, the door might be opened for mission-work in the East. Never did Zinzendorf show more practical skill. First, he selected as his agent a good Greek scholar, Arvid Gradin; then he prepared an address to the Patriarch, sketching the history of the Moravian Church, and asking the Patriarch to intercede with the Holy Synod of the Greek Church in Russia; and then he had the address translated into Greek by Arvid Gradin himself. With this document in his possession Arvid Gradin went to Constantinople, and in due time was introduced to the Patriarch. The interview closed as such interviews often do. In his manner the Patriarch was friendly, and Gradin reclined by his side on a couch, drank coffee, and sniffed a bowl of surat-smoke. With all his suave politeness, however, the Patriarch, like most ecclesiastics, was cautious, and, after due deliberation, he explained that for two reasons definite action was impossible. First, he was afraid of offending the Roman Catholics, and secondly, he was equally afraid of offending the Russian Government. With this disappointing answer Gradin returned home.

1740 (7) WALLACHIA. At that time Wallachia, now the southern portion of Roumania, was a small autonomous State. As Brethren had settled here in former times, the Count conjectured, with some plausibility, that, just as in Bohemia and Moravia, there might still be left a "hidden seed," and his two agents, Andrew Jäschke and Zechariah Hirschel, were so warmly welcomed by the Hospodar, that Zinzendorf hoped, before very long, to send a larger

force. But the next Hospodar was hostile, and the project had to be abandoned.

(8) THE CALMUCKS. According to Zinzendorf himself, the chief object of this expedition was, not to preach the Gospel, but rather to discover what special sins the heathen Calmucks committed. His first three agents—Conrad Lange, Zechariah Hirschel, and Michael Kund—had a most remarkable experience. At St. Petersburg they were accused of being spies; the Government, after pronouncing them innocent, kept them in prison five years; and the Brethren, who, like St. Paul at Rome, were allowed to receive visitors, enjoyed the experience so much that they called their cell a "Hall of Grace." **1742-8**

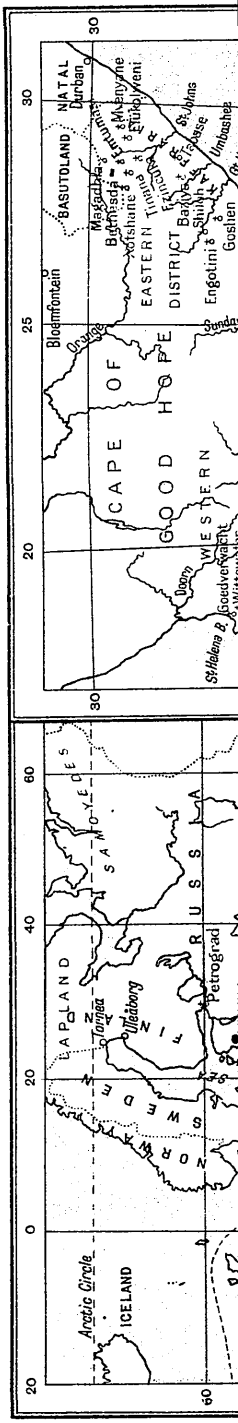
But the next expedition was far more encouraging. In response to a special invitation from the Empress Catherine II., who promised complete religious liberty, and said that she would be delighted if all her heathen subjects became Christians, the Brethren, in 1764, sent out a large colony, and built, on the River Volga, a flourishing little settlement named Sarepta; there they discovered a mineral spring and stationed a resident physician; and so famous did Sarepta become that gouty grandees came from Berlin and Moscow. For many years Sarepta was the centre of Moravian work among the Calmucks. In theory, those Calmucks were Buddhists, and held that there was not much difference between their religion and Christianity; in fact, like the people of Western Tibet, they were lama-ridden, worshipped thousands of Buchan, *i.e.*, departed spirits, turned Prayer-mills, and believed in the transmigration of souls; and so firmly did they hold their beliefs that the Brethren baptized only one convert. For this reason, in 1800, the Calmuck Mission was abandoned. **1764**

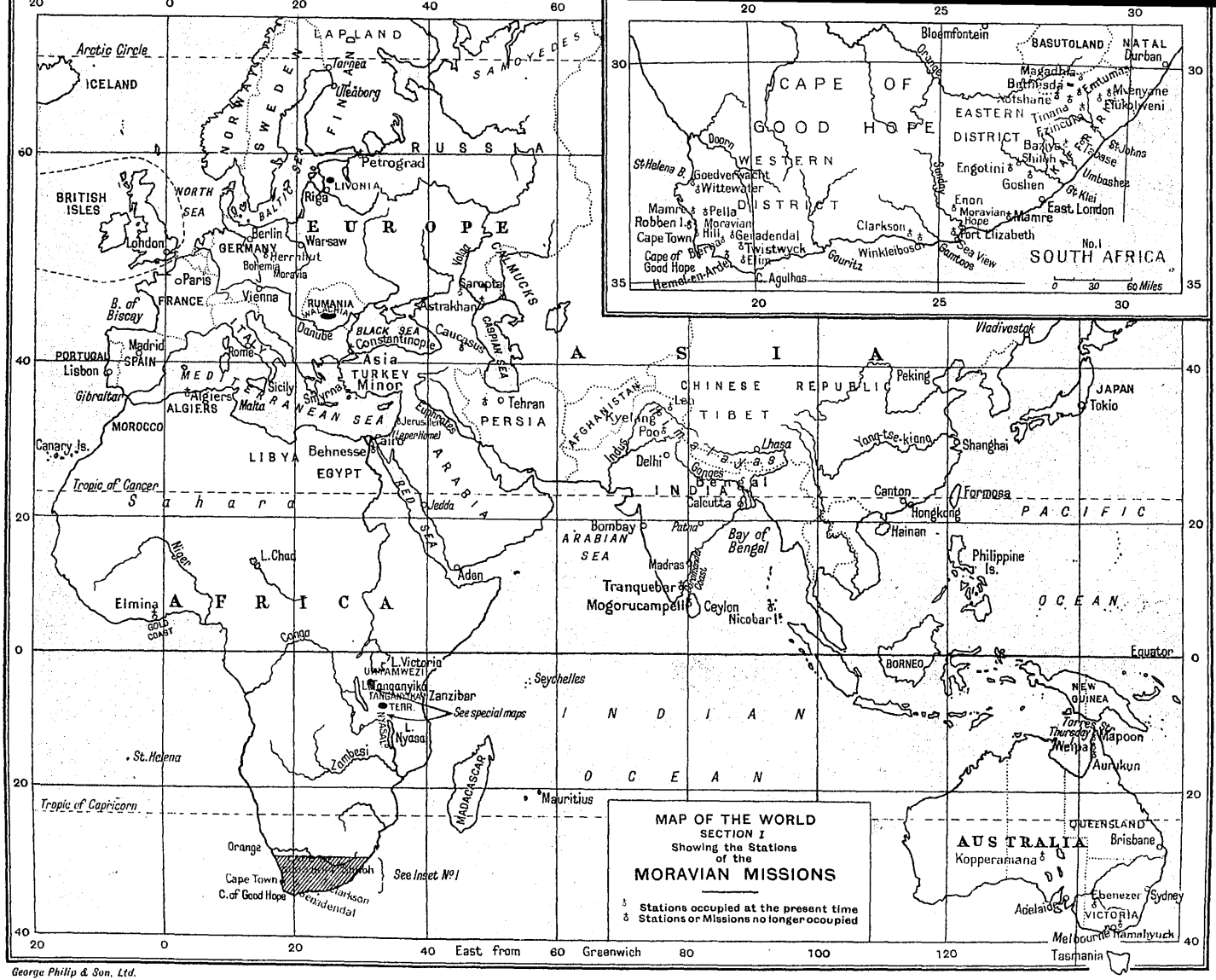
At the special request, however, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had a Branch at St. **1815-22**

Petersburg, where the local Secretary, Isaac Schmidt, happened to be a Moravian, the Brethren made an attempt to renew the Mission. The Czar, Alexander I., supported the scheme; two Brethren settled down near Sarepta, and a small congregation of twenty-three was formed. For seven years there was uninterrupted success; then the Russian Government ordered the Brethren to hand their converts over to the Greek Church, and the Brethren, being compelled to obey, retired from the scene.

1743-7 (9) LIVONIA. In order to prepare for this Mission, Zinzendorf sent Arvid Gradin to St. Petersburg, with a letter to the Holy Synod. The great scholar had a dismal experience. For no very special reason the Government kept him three years in prison, and then, as he had committed no crime, allowed him to return to Germany; and, meanwhile, his letter to the Synod had not even been answered.

1747 (10) PERSIA. For this enterprise Zinzendorf gave a charming reason. As the Kurds were descended from the "Wise Men from the East"—so, at least, an Armenian Bishop informed him—the Count held that they had a special claim on the attention of the Church; and hearing that medical work was needed in Persia, and also that the Kurds were seeking a new religion, he now sent out two qualified medical men, Hocker and Rüffer. The two doctors had a series of strange adventures. At Aleppo, after attending the English Church, they slept in a billiard-room, and sang evening hymns on the house-roof. At Bagdad they were entertained by Carmelite priests. At a lonely spot beyond Bagdad they were attacked and robbed by highwaymen. But at Ispahan, the Persian capital, they met with marvellous kindness. The British Consul supplied them with money; the


NATAL
Durban
BASUTOLAND
Bloemfontein
Orange
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
WESTERN
Saldanha B.
St Helena B.
Goodverwacht
Doorn
EASTERN DISTRICT
Engotini
Umbashe
St. Johns
Elizabeth
Port Alfred
Grahamstown
Fairbairn
Tsolo
Shiloh
Bethany
Mt Coke
Emmaus
Enon
Mamre
Hemel en Aarde
Zwartkops
Groot Vader
Gnadenthal
Genadendal
Mamre
Wupperthal
Clanwilliam
Ebenezer
Hope Fountain
Goshen
Leeuwkop
Ramah
Hebron
Carmel
Bethel
Shalem
Elim
Zoar
Gnadenberg
Enon
Bethesda
Hermon
Bethlehem
Bethany
Ekuphakameni
Emtonjaneni
Umlalazi
Mapumulo
Inanda
Ifafa
Umzimkulu
Umtata
Morley
Mt Frere
Kokstad
Matatiele
Mt Fletcher
Maclear
Lady Grey
Aliwal North
Wittebergen
Barkly East
Rouxville
Smithfield
Wepener
Ladybrand
Thaba Nchu
Berea
Bethulie
Hamburg
Philippolis
Springfontein
Colesberg
Hanover
Graaff Reinet
Middelburg
Beaufort West
Victoria West
Richmond
Hope Town
Prieska
Upington
Kuruman
Griquatown
Daniel's Kuil
Douglas
Pniel
Barkly West
Kimberley
Taungs
Vryburg
Mafeking
Shoshong
Molepolole
Gaberones
Lehututu
Ghanzi
Rietfontein
Tsau
Mohembo
Maun
Sepopa
Linyanti
Kazungula
Victoria Falls
Wankie
Bulawayo
Inyati
Hope Fountain
Shiloh
Emmaus
Mt Silinda
Chikore
Mt Selinda
Chimanimani
Umtali
Melsetter
Chipinga
Fort Victoria
Gwelo
Belingwe



MAP OF THE WORLD
SECTION I
Showing the Stations of the
MORAVIAN MISSIONS

† Stations occupied at the present time
‡ Stations or Missions no longer occupied

George Philip & Son, Ltd.

Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Carmelites brought them clothing; and the British Ambassador tried to obtain them compensation for their losses. For one simple reason, however, the two Doctors never discovered the Kurds. The country was in a state of civil war, and the road to Kirman, where the Kurds lived, was blocked. Soon afterwards Rüffer died in Egypt.

(11) ABYSSINIA. Once more the Count was in search of Candace-Souls. As the Coptic Church was said to be fairly pure, Zinzendorf had a vague idea that a good medical man would be sufficient. His agent was Dr. Hocker. For about a year Dr. Hocker resided in Cairo, studying Arabic, and then, having mastered the language, he called on the Patriarch, presented his credentials, and asked the Patriarch to sanction his Mission to the Copts. But the Patriarch, though very polite, made no definite promise. Instead of giving Hocker the letter which he required, he composed a solemn non-committal epistle, and Hocker, seeing how the land lay, sought, like Gradin, for assistance at Constantinople. For one moment there was a gleam of hope. With the aid of the British Ambassador, Hocker obtained from the Grand Vizier a letter of introduction to the Prime Minister of Abyssinia. With this letter he now returned to Cairo; there, to his dismay, he learned that, as the King of Abyssinia had just died, his letter was waste paper; and feeling that further efforts were useless he returned to Herrnhut. In spite, however, of this failure, Count Zinzendorf next year sent out another expedition. His agents now were Dr. Hocker, George Pilder, and Henry Cossart. At Cairo, Pilder and Cossart dined with the Bishop of Libya, and then, for some unknown reason, Cossart returned to Herrnhut. The other two Brethren had an interesting adventure. As they sailed along the eastern

1752

1756

shore of the Red Sea, on their way from Suez to Jedda, a seaport due west of Mecca, the ship foundered in a storm. For nineteen days Hocker and Pilder lived on the barren island of Hassan, off the coast of Arabia. At Jedda, Dr. Hocker received an invitation to pay a professional visit to the Prime Minister of Abyssinia, who, he was told, suffered from boils on the face. For three cogent reasons, however, Dr. Hocker declined the invitation. He had lost his medicine-chest; his friend Pilder was ill; and the Lot, when consulted, answered "No." And thus, when success was possible, the Brethren returned home.

1768 For the third time, however, after Zinzendorf's death, Dr. Hocker visited Egypt, lodging this time with a French chemist at Cairo. His chief colleagues were John Danke, a cabinet-maker, John Antes, a watch-maker, Dr. Roller, another physician, Weiniger, a tailor, and Herrmann, a carpenter; and the curious feature of the story is that all the seven Brethren passed as Englishmen. Dr. Hocker was known as the English doctor; John Danke, who was born in Hanover, boldly described himself as an English subject,† and John Antes was really an Englishman, born in North America. From the commercial point of view this was a great advantage. The mere fact that the Brethren were English was taken as a proof that they were good workmen. "The English," said a Turk, "are an honest people; their yea is yea, and their nay, nay; but you Copts are false, and while your words are sweet your hearts are bitter." For this simple reason, therefore, the Brethren at Cairo prospered greatly in business. Dr. Hocker was often summoned to attend high officials; John Danke was asked to make gun-

† Danke was perfectly honest. Hanover was then regarded as an English Colony.

carriages; and judging by one of Herrmann's letters, the Brethren lived in comfort. The French bakers, he reported, made delicious wheat bread; meat, poultry, butter, honey, milk, and fruit abounded; and sometimes the Brethren drank, not only Nile-water, but a little wine.

On the other hand, the Brethren at Cairo were often exposed to great danger. During the whole of this period there was no stable government in Egypt. The chief officials were certain Turkish Beys; murders and highway robberies were common; and the main object of the officials was to line their own pockets. The most terrible experience was that of John Antes. For the crime of refusing to hand over money to a highwayman, he was haled before a Bey, accused of being a thief, taken to a castle, laid face downwards on the carpet, bound round the ankles by means of a chain and a stick, and bastinadoed so severely that the whip, which was made of horse-skin, felt like a red-hot iron. The scene was a torch-lighted room, several spectators were present, and John Antes gave himself up for lost. In his own narrative Antes says that the appointed number of blows in such cases was generally 2,000; that after 600 blows the ears began to bleed, and that victims frequently died of exhaustion.

"Gold! gold!" whispered an officer. "Give the Bey gold, and you will be free."

"I have no gold," said Antes.

"But what have you got at home?" demanded the Bey.

"Nothing but a musket," said Antes.

"Hit the dog again," roared the Bey.

At last, however, an officer intervened; Antes was seated on a donkey and taken home; and, after three years, the swelling on his feet disappeared.

Meanwhile, the Brethren's work in Egypt was of an unusual nature.† Instead of trying to extend the Moravian Church, or turn Copts into Moravians, the Brethren themselves attended the Coptic Churches, called on Coptic priests, chatted in a friendly manner on religious topics, and endeavoured to do good, not by public preaching, but by shewing the people that man is saved, not by good works or ceremonies, but by a living faith in the crucified Christ. For a few years the Brethren were very popular. Dr. Hocker exerted a wide influence by translating Zinzendorf's Berlin Discourses into Arabic; Danke hired a room at Behnesse, a town further up the Nile, and there interviewed ardent seekers after truth; and some Coptic priests declared that such charming men as the Brethren they had never met before. Among the Brethren's chief supporters were Ibrahim, a Coptic priest of high rank, and Michael Baschera, a Turkish official; Danke even lodged for some days in the house of a friendly Turk; and though, in one sense, the Brethren gained no converts, they do seem to have exercised a certain evangelical influence in the Coptic Church as a whole. With
1783 such results they had to rest content. At length however, fierce opposition arose, and the Brethren were denounced as intruders; and, not wishing to create trouble, they retired from the scene.

1768 (12) THE TARTARS. In 1768, two Brethren, Gralisch and Gruhl, crossed the Caucasus, visited the Tartars at Inleesha, and inquired whether among them there still survived any members of the "Hidden Seed." The answer was in the negative. All the Tartars were Mahometans, and Mahometans they intended to remain.

1768-1803 (13) THE COROMANDEL COAST. For the long

†For details see J. W. Davey's articles, Per. Accs. 1904.

period of thirty-six years the Brethren, with the full approval of the Danish Government, conducted a wonderful "Garden" at Tranquebar; there no fewer than forty missionaries died in the service; and the Brethren finally abandoned the cause, not because they lost heart, but because they were not allowed by the local clergy to preach to the heathen in the neighbourhood.

(14) THE NICOBAR ISLANDS. The chief worker here was John Gotfried Hänsel (1779-87). For the special delectation of William Wilberforce, this man, in his old age, wrote a delightful book, entitled "Letters on the Nicobar Islands," and therein he explained fully why the Brethren had to abandon the cause. First, they were often on the verge of starvation, and had nothing better to eat than swallows' nests; secondly, they suffered from diseases of the liver; thirdly, they died in large numbers—twenty-four in a few years—from fever; and fourthly, they never succeeded in learning the native language. **1768-87**

(15) BENGAL. For the following reasons this Mission also ended in complete failure:—(1) because the missionaries had to earn their own living, and had, therefore, little time for preaching; (2) because the other Christians belonged either to the Greek Church or to the Church of Rome, and, for obvious reasons, opposed the Brethren; (3) because, on account of the caste system, they had little chance of coming into close touch with the natives. **1777-1803**

For the policy described in this chapter, Zinzendorf was sometimes severely criticised, and some of his enemies pointed out that, in these apparently vain enterprises, he had sacrificed, not only large sums of money, but also many valuable lives. But to all such criticism he gave the same answer. He did not estimate success by numbers. "If a missionary

travels a thousand miles," he said, "and gains only one convert on the journey, his efforts have not been in vain."

The Death Rate.

In the eighteenth century the death rate among the Moravian missionaries was very high, and all honour should be given to the men who were so ready to fill the gaps. The most striking examples of this high death rate are:—

(1) St. Thomas, 160 deaths in 50 years (1732-82).
(2) St. Croix, 22 deaths in 2 years (1733-5).
(3) Surinam, 50 missionaries died within a year after their arrival.
(4) Tranquebar and Nicobar Islands, 46 deaths in 37 years.

Nor was this high death rate confined entirely to the eighteenth century. In the British West Indies, in 1835, there were 10 deaths in one year; and in Surinam, in 1851-2, 14 missionaries died in 10 months.

Chapter XIII.

ZINZENDORF AS MISSIONARY LEADER, 1731—1760.

As long as the Count had a breath in his body, his zeal for Foreign Missions burned with a pure and steady flame. At the time when he was banished from Saxony (1736) he announced that the chief duty of the Moravian Church was to proclaim the Saviour to the world; on another occasion he said "The earth is the Lord's; all souls are His, I am debtor to all"; and holding firmly to this sublime ideal, he acted, during twenty-eight years (1732-60), not only as the general manager, but also as the teacher, as the politician, and as the poet of the whole movement.

1. The General Manager.

The position occupied by Zinzendorf was remarkable. In order to understand the situation, we must remember that, during the whole of this period, the Renewed Moravian Church had no fixed constitution; no constitution was formed, in fact, till four years after his death; and the natural and inevitable consequence was that, while Zinzendorf summoned his colleagues to Synods and Conferences, at which Foreign Mission problems were discussed, yet, by the mere force of his genius, he exercised such a commanding influence that his designs were nearly always accepted. On this point the leading Moravian historians are agreed. Dr. J. T. Müller says that, after a Synod at Hirschberg (1743), his position in the Church was dictatorial;† Guido Burkhardt calls him an absolute monarch;* E. W. Cröger says

†Article on Zinzendorf in "Hauck's Real-Encyclopædie," p. 694.

*"Zinzendorf und die Brüdergemeine," p. 127.

that at the Synods Zinzendorf's influence was overwhelming ;† and Gerhard Reichel, in his "Life of Spangenberg," says that not even the Lot was able to deprive Zinzendorf's sovranty of its absolute personal character.* With these views I agree. By nature Zinzendorf was an autocrat, and, as long as he held sway, constitutional government was impossible. For two years, it is true, there existed a governing body called the General Conference, appointed by a Synod held in London (September, 1741); two years later, however, Zinzendorf himself, on his own authority, dissolved this Conference, just as Oliver Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament; and henceforward his rule was almost entirely undisputed. At the Synods he himself generally presided. By him, and him alone, they were generally summoned; by him most of the speaking was done; and the clear impression produced by the minutes is that though Zinzendorf, in some cases, allowed his colleagues to vote, he may be truly compared, not to the Speaker of the House of Commons, but rather to a general instructing his officers.‡

Let us now see how he exercised his authority. His first move was of fundamental importance. At

†"Geschichte der Erneuerten Brüderkirche," Part I., p. 311.

*"August Gottlieb Spangenberg," 1906, p. 207.

‡For a slightly different view of Zinzendorf's authority see Moravian Almanac (1909) Appendix, p. 118. The writer, Rev. J. N. Libbey, M.A., says: "Like everything else in the early years of the Renewed Church, the Synod is dominated by the personality of Zinzendorf. When he was present he always presided. It was he who called his fellow-workers together to a Synod like a commander calling a Council of War. He took a large part in the discussions, trying to avoid taking resolutions by vote, and seeking to reach unanimity in his summing up. Hence the records of Synods sometimes read almost like Homilies of Zinzendorf on Church Principles and Practice, and perhaps, in giving prominence to his weighty utterances, scarcely do justice to the share in the discussion taken by others."

an early period Zinzendorf realised that, in colonies belonging to other countries, no missionary would be recognised by the Government unless he was ordained. For this purpose, therefore, on March 13th, 1735, he had his friend David Nitschmann, the carpenter, consecrated a Bishop by Bishop Daniel Ernest Jablonsky. In the certificate Nitschmann was described as "Bishop of the Foreign Congregations," and his chief function was to ordain foreign missionaries. During the next few years, therefore, most of the leading missionaries—such as Frederick Martin, George Schmidt, Matthew Stach, and David Zeisberger—were ordained; being ordained they could baptize and conduct the Holy Communion; and thus, in the most important fields, the work was placed on a firm ecclesiastical basis. But this change in the status of the men must not mislead us. The mere fact that a man was ordained did not mean that he was any the less under Zinzendorf's authority.

In 1737 he himself was consecrated a Bishop; in 1743 he was appointed "Fully Authorized Servant;" and acting in this double capacity, he gathered round him a body of chosen disciples—called first the Pilgrim Band, and later the Disciples' House—employed them as confidential clerks, and, through them, managed the whole enterprise. With the aid of these clerks he kept in personal touch with all the missionaries. According to his own estimate, he spent about £23 a year in foreign correspondence; he had often, he said, one hundred and fifty letters in his desk awaiting an immediate answer; and his own letters had the force of commands. On several important occasions, also, he appointed and sent out men to pay official visitations. In 1736, for example, he sent Spangen-

berg to St. Thomas; in 1739 he visited St. Thomas himself; and then, in due course, he sent Andrew Grassman to Greenland (1740), David Nitschmann to St. Thomas (1742), Christian Henry Rauch to the West Indies (1745), John de Watteville to North America (1749), the West Indies (1749), and Greenland (1752), Seidel to the West Indies (1753), Rauch to the West Indies (1755), Seidel to Berbice and Surinam (1755), and finally Seidel again to the West Indies (1759). To this absolute authority on his part, Zinzendorf allowed only one exception. For eighteen years (1744-62) Spangenberg and his colleagues at Bethlehem had the oversight, not only of North America, but also of the West Indies, Berbice and Surinam. But even here the Count was the ultimate authority. He himself had appointed both Spangenberg and his colleagues; on one occasion he even sent Watteville to supervise Spangenberg; and thus, even in North America, he was the dominating force. During Zinzendorf's lifetime, therefore, there was no such thing in the Moravian Church as constitutional government.

Nor was this the full measure of the Count's authority. In addition to appointing the inspectors, he also appointed the missionaries, and no candidate could be accepted without his permission. On such occasions the scene at Herrnhut was both impressive and inspiring. At the president's table sat the Count as examiner; on his left hand sat the Brethren and on his right the Sisters, wearing their snow-white caps; and there, in the presence of many witnesses, the candidate for missionary service made his confession of faith. In his right hand the Count held a sheet of questions; to these questions the candidate read his replies; and one case—that of Dr. Regnier, a medical missionary in

Surinam—may serve as a typical example:—

1. What are your religious beliefs ?
A. I build my hopes of salvation on the risen Christ.
2. What makes you think you are called to this work ?
A. I have long felt an inward call to preach the Gospel to others.
3. Where do you desire to go ?
A. When the elders mentioned Surinam I felt that that was the very place designed for me by Christ.
4. What do you intend to do there ?
A. I will do my best to earn my living and bring sinners to Christ.
5. How do you intend to get there ?
A. I shall simply trust to Christ to shew me the way.
6. How long do you intend to stay there ?
A. I shall stay there either till I die or till the elders call me to another field.
7. How do you propose to treat your wife ?
A. I will love her with all my heart; but I shall not allow my love for her to interfere with my work.
8. How will you treat the Brethren already there ?
A. I will cherish them as though they were my own children.
9. How will you treat the congregation you are leaving ?
A. I will honour and obey Herrnhut as my spiritual mother.
10. How will you behave if you have to wait a long time before you go ?
A. If I have to wait for a ship, I shall simply regard the delay as the will of the Lord.

In his choice of men Zinzendorf was very broad-minded. As long as the man possessed a noble soul, and gave evidence that he was sound in the faith, Zinzendorf did not care very much whether he was learned or ignorant. For some special tasks, of course, he selected scholars such as Arvid Gradin, Solomon Schumann, and Drs. Hocker, Eller, and Regnier; most, however, of the missionaries were artisans; and once, after hearing of the death of the learned teacher, Albin Feder, the Count said: "It looks as though God did not want any more scholars." In one sense, however, all his men were alike. Each was a free-will agent; each was willing to earn his own living, and serve the cause without pay; and each was ready, even at the risk of his life, to render Zinzendorf implicit obedience. The Church did not even provide for the whole of the travelling expenses. For many years the rule was that while the Church would pay the expenses as far as the nearest seaport, the missionary worked his passage on the ship. Most of the early missionaries did the first part of the journey on foot; frequently they slept in the open air, and some hired themselves out as boatmen and worked their passage down the Rhine.

Let us now examine the causes of this grand spirit. The first was the Brethren's belief in the Lot; the second was their belief in the Moravian Text Book; and each belief was simply a form of their belief in God. For the first belief Zinzendorf was chiefly responsible. On no theological doctrine did he express more decided opinions. To doubt his own judgment was possible; to doubt the Lot was impossible; and whether his theory was true or false, it was at least logical. Zinzendorf firmly believed in answers to prayer. By consulting the Lot, he said, he was simply asking God for guidance;

such prayers God had promised to answer; and acting on this simple principle, the Count carried his Lot-apparatus, a little green book, in his waistcoat pocket. "To me," he wrote to his friend Spangenberg, "the Lot and the Will of God are one and the same thing. I would rather trust an innocent piece of paper than my own excited feelings." At every serious crisis, therefore, Zinzendorf turned to the Lot for guidance. His theory was perfectly consistent. Christ, he said, was the only true Head of the Church; Christ had His own missionary "plan"; and Christ revealed that "plan" to His servants by means of the Lot. Christ, said the Count, by this means, was giving him and his colleagues infallible guidance. Christ had sent him to Copenhagen; Christ ordered him to visit St. Thomas; Christ forbade him to visit St. Croix; Christ selected Leonard Dober as the first Moravian missionary; Christ sanctioned the consecration of David Nitschmann as a Bishop. With this faith Zinzendorf inspired his soldiers. "You must never," he wrote to Matthew Stach, "take a single step without consulting the Lot." On the men themselves the effect was wonderful. With this simple faith in their hearts they could face any fate.

For the other cause, the Moravian Text Book, Zinzendorf was equally responsible. In 1727 he adopted the practice of giving the refugees a daily watchword from the Bible; in 1731, for the first time, an annual volume of such watchwords was published, and just as the missionaries believed in the Lot, so they also believed that in the Text Book Christ was giving to each of them a special message for the day. Let three examples illustrate the point. On December 13th, 1732, Dober and Nitschmann landed in St. Thomas, and the text was "The Lord mustereth the host of

battle"; on April 10th, 1733, the *Caritas* sailed for Greenland, and the text was "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"; and on the day when he reached the Sweet-Milk Valley, George Schmidt acted on the text, "Enlarge the place of thy tents."

2. The Teacher.

But Zinzendorf was far more than a manager. He was also a systematic teacher of method. For some years before the Moravian Missions began, Zinzendorf had made a close study of the chief missionary methods employed both by Francke's three men in Tranquebar, and by Egede in Greenland; with some of those methods he disagreed; and writing on April 12th, 1732, to an English missionary—probably a member of the S.P.G.—he made the first written statement of his opinions. In three ways, said Zinzendorf, previous missionaries had blundered, and the Englishman was now given good advice. "First," he said, "you must never try to lord it over the heathen, but rather humble yourself among them, and earn their esteem through the power of the spirit. I have been informed by a missionary's wife that the missionaries would not associate with the heathen, but regarded them as mere slaves. Our Lord never talked like that. Secondly, you must say nothing about the Creation and the Fall, but come at once to your point, and preach the Crucified Christ. Thirdly, you are not to aim at the conversion of whole nations to your particular form of Christianity. You must simply look out for seekers after the truth, who, like the Ethiopian eunuch, seem ready to welcome the Gospel. I am quite disgusted when I hear that the heathen are made into mere sectarians, that particular Churches are held up for their admiration, and that they are

actually asked to say to which Church they belong."

In that letter we find the key to all Zinzendorf's missionary principles. Leonard Dober received similar instructions, and then, for the benefit of other Moravian missionaries, the Count issued the following missionary manuals :—

(1) Instructions for George Schmidt, 1736.
(2) Instructions for Missionaries to the East, 1736.
(3) Letter to the Brethren in Greenland, 1738.
(4) Instructions to all Missionaries, 1738.
(5) Homily for Apostles to the Heathen, 1739.
(6) Plan of a Catechism for the Heathen, 1740.
(7) The Right Way to Convert the Heathen, 1740.
(8) Instructions to Lange concerning his journey to China, 1741.
(9) Instructions for the Missionaries in Greenland, 1745.
(10) Instructions to the Missionary among the Christian Slaves in Algiers, 1746.
(11) Instructions for the Brethren in Surinam, 1748.
(12) Instructions for Grabenstein, Zander, and Dähne in Surinam, 1756.
(13) Instructions to Stahlmann, 1758.
(14) Homily for all Missionaries to Tranquebar, 1759.

Let us now see how, in these pamphlets, Zinzendorf worked out his three main points, and then we shall understand his importance as a missionary pioneer.

(1) *Personal Conduct.* For his views on this topic the Count had a special reason. At that time there was a comforting delusion in certain cultured continental circles that, the heathen being like innocent children, the more they were left to themselves

the better, and knowing how false this doctrine was—knowing, *i.e.*, that the Eskimos were scoffers, that the Indians drank, that the Negroes were immoral, and that the Bush Negroes poisoned each other—Zinzendorf informed his men that nothing but the force of personal example could raise such wretches from the mire. By nature, he said, all heathen are weak. Bad example would ruin them; only good example could save them. "Let them once taste European vices," he said, "and they will rush headlong to perdition." For this reason he set before the missionaries certain high moral ideals:—(*a*) The first duty of every missionary was to earn his own living. By earning his own living he could not only save the Church funds, but also teach the natives the dignity of labour; on the other hand, he must not seek large profits, but be content with the bare necessaries of life; and having provided himself with food and clothing, he must devote the rest of his time to the heathen. On this point he wrote a blunt letter to George Schmidt. "If you take a penny more than you need," he said, "I will dismiss you from the service." No missionary might demand any luxuries, and no missionary might accept any presents.† (*b*) Secondly, the Brethren must be obedient, not only to their ecclesiastical superiors, but to the secular government. The Count had here a two-fold problem to solve. On the one hand he tried to win the goodwill of the various governments under which the Brethren lived; on the other hand, having done this, he taught his men to be law-abiding citizens. In the first of these efforts he was fairly successful. In the Danish West Indies, he had the Brethren's work recognised by Frederick VI., King

† This rule was not always observed. Frederick Martin, when in sore straits, accepted presents from his friend Carstens.

of Denmark; in Greenland, by Frederick V.; in Surinam, by the Dutch India Company; and in South Africa, for a time, by the Chamber of Seventeen. But his greatest success was achieved in the British Colonies. On May 12th, 1749, an Act of Parliament was passed conferring on the Brethren certain privileges in all British Dominions. The Moravian Church was officially recognised as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church, and henceforth all Moravians were exempted, both from taking the oath and from bearing arms.† On the Brethren themselves the Count always enjoined loyalty. "You are not," he said, "to work against the police, or regard the government with suspicion. Do not," he added, "interfere between employer and employed; do not play any part in party politics, but teach the heathen, by your example, to fear God and honour the King." (*c*) Again, said the Count, the missionaries must be careful in their treatment of the heathen. "The right way with savages," he said in his "Natural Reflections," "is this: you must set them such a dazzling example that they cannot help asking who made these delightful characters." "Let the people," he said, in another pamphlet, "see what sort of men you are; let them hear you pray and sing; and then they will be forced to ask, 'Who makes such men as these?'" George Schmidt received the same kind of advice. "You must labour with your hands," said the Count, "until you have won the love of the people." By such methods, more than by preaching, would the heathen be conformed to the image of Christ. (*d*) Above all, said the Count, the Brethren must be content to suffer, to die and to be forgotten. No missionary

†This privilege has not recently been claimed. In the Great War the English Moravians enlisted from the outset, and several gained the M.C. and other distinctions.

must ever seek the praise of man, and still less must he desire to become immortalised in print. To that rule the Count himself held firm. He was not a good story-teller himself,† and he did not encourage the gift in others. As long as Zinzendorf trod this earth not a single missionary biography was published ; the only records that saw the light were a few extracts from diaries, and most of these were not printed, but copied out by Zinzendorf's clerks, to be read at missionary meetings. Thus did Zinzendorf, in his "Instructions," demand self-denial to the uttermost. Nor was even this the highest ideal that Zinzendorf placed before his warriors. No matter what trials they encountered, he would not allow them to be down-hearted. In one of his speeches he complained that some of the early missionaries suffered from what he called the "English Malady," *i.e.*, melancholia ; and such men, in his opinion, were not fit for the service.*

2. *Theology.* In theology Zinzendorf introduced, not exactly a change of doctrine, but rather a change in order or method. Previous missionaries had failed, he said, not because they taught erroneous doctrine, but because they began at the wrong end. First they spoke of God, then they narrated the Fall, and then they preached Christ. Count Zinzendorf reversed the process. Others began with God and ended with Christ ; he began with Christ and ended with God. "What is it," he said to Leonard Dober, "that the heathen know already ? They know that there is a God (Rom. i., 19, 20), and, therefore, the man who tells them of God is simply wasting his time. What is it that they do not know ? They do not know that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, and, therefore, the

†He knew it. "I have no gift for narrative."—Speech in London, 1743.

*For the "English Malady" see Boswell's Johnson, Anno 1728.

missionary must always begin with the Gospel message. How is it that missionaries have failed in the past? They have failed because, instead of preaching Christ, they have given lectures on theology." In one of his official pamphlets he repeated this point. "You must never be deceived by the notion," he said, "that before you tell them of Christ you must first tell them of God. The idea is false. They know already that there is a God. They do not, however, know Christ; they do not know that He alone can save them; and that, therefore, is what they must be told." At the same time Zinzendorf always insisted that, while the missionaries must preach Christ first, they must also make it clear to the heathen that Christ and God were two different names for the same person. In theory he was opposed to dogma, and condemned the old dogmatic methods; in fact, like most reformers, he was a dogmatist himself; and, believing that the Augsburg Confession was inspired, he insisted that the Brethren must preach Christ, not merely as Redeemer, but also as God manifest in the flesh and Creator of all things. "You must tell the heathen," he said, "that Jesus Christ is truly God, begotten of the Father in eternity." For the use of all missionaries he prepared a "Catechism for the Heathen," and in this catechism he expounded the main principles of his own theology. The most important questions were as follows:—

Q. Who made men and women?
A. The Lord God.
Q. What do you call Him?
A. Jesus Christ.
Q. Do those words mean anything?
A. Yes.

Q. What, then ?

A. Jesus means Redeemer and Christ means King.

Q. How did He obtain these names ?

A. That is a special story.

In the next section the candidate was informed how man had been ruined by the Fall; how God, in order to save him, became a man, was crucified, rose and ascended; and how all converts must be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Thus was the candidate led by degrees to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

Q. Who are these three ?

A. The first is the Father of the Lord Jesus.

Q. But who is He ?

A. I cannot possibly tell you. He is so high that I cannot attain to Him.

Q. But how shall I learn to know Him ?

A. The Lord Jesus will teach you Himself when His Father becomes your Father.

Q. Who is the Holy Ghost ?

A. He is God's Helper. He is also master of the baptized, and teaches them to pray.

Q. Why must I be baptized with water ?

A. The blood of Jesus Christ, shed for you, is invisibly there and cleanses your heart from sin and guilt.

But now we come to a still more important point. In 1734 Zinzendorf made his already mentioned great theological discovery. One day, so he tells us, he was burning some waste paper; one slip contained the words: "Oh ! Let us in Thy nail-prints see our pardon and election free"; and taking those

words as a heavenly message, he discovered that God could be known to man only through the Suffering Christ. During the next twenty-six years Zinzendorf laid stress on what he called his "Blood and Wounds Theology"; and this theology was now preached by the missionaries. In the past they had preached abstract doctrine; henceforward their sermons were in the form of a narrative. In the past they had expounded theology; henceforward they told the story of the Scourging, the Crown of Thorns, the Nail-prints, and the Wounded Side; and the records of such men as John Beck, Gottlieb Israel, Rauch, Schumann, and Stoll, prove that this picturesque mode of preaching appealed with convincing force to the heathen mind. By means of the old method only few converts were gained; by means of the second many thousands.

3. THE POLITICIAN.

Let me now endeavour to expound the Count's missionary policy. His main purpose was both unique and original. At the time when he sent Leonard Dober to St. Thomas the three chief missionary agencies in the world were the Anglican S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded 1700), the Danish College of Missions, and the Dutch East India Company; each of these bodies had done genuine missionary work, and the difference between them and Zinzendorf was that, while they endeavoured to establish State churches, Zinzendorf was entirely free from any such motive. For what purpose, *e.g.*, did the S.P.G. exist? Chiefly, though not exclusively, to minister to the spiritual needs of English settlers in English colonies. For what purpose was the Danish College of Missions founded? To establish a branch of the Danish State Church in

the Danish colonies. For what purpose, besides business, was the Dutch East India Company formed? To establish the "true Reformed Religion," *i.e.*, the Dutch State Church, in Dutch possessions. In the case of these three Societies, State Church and Colonial interests were uppermost; in the case of Count Zinzendorf no such motives existed, and the strange feature of the story is that, though he himself was a Moravian Bishop, though he had the Sacraments administered according to the Moravian ritual, and though, in several Mission Fields, he encouraged the formation of Herrnhut institutions—such as Choirs, Love-feasts, Bands, and Hourly Intercessions—yet, at the same time, he had not the least desire to extend the Moravian Church. Other missionaries toiled conscientiously for their respective native lands and for their respective State Churches; Zinzendorf toiled for the glory of God alone; and in his instructions to the missionaries he made that point abundantly clear. "You must not," he said emphatically, "try to establish native churches; you must not enrol your converts as members of the Moravian Church; you must be content to enrol them as Christians." With one exception, all the missionaries followed Zinzendorf's instructions; that one exception was David Zeisberger, who tried to found a Delaware National Church; and even he did not formulate his scheme fully till some years after Zinzendorf's death. In this policy we find the explanation of a singular fact. How was it, we ask, that at Zinzendorf's death the total number of enrolled converts was only about one thousand? Because, while the missionaries were anxious to win souls, they were not anxious to enrol them as Church members. The most striking case was that of Frederick Martin. In the year 1736 he had gained seven hundred

converts, and of these only thirty were baptized. For this self-denying policy Zinzendorf gave two reasons. First, he had no faith in the independent existence of the Moravian Church; that Church, he once declared, would soon be both dead and forgotten; and then the converts would be enrolled as Anglicans, Presbyterians, or Lutherans.

Secondly, Zinzendorf laid great stress on what he called his "First Fruits Idea." In his views about the heathen he was a Calvinist. As long as the Jews remained unconverted, Zinzendorf conscientiously believed that the only heathen who would accept the Gospel were a few Candace-Souls specially chosen by God. The time to convert whole nations had not yet come; only a few "first fruits" might be expected; and so fond was the Count of this idea that he had it immortalised in paint. The picture was painted by his friend Haidt, and may still be seen at Herrnhut.† Below the picture there is the text, "These were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits."—Rev. XIV., 4. There, arrayed in native costume, and holding palms in their hands, we see twenty-two Moravian "First Fruits" before the Lamb on His throne, and nothing throws a clearer light on Zinzendorf's missionary policy.*

4. THE POET.

Finally, and above all, Zinzendorf was the poet of the movement. He was at his best when he donned his singing robes. At the monthly missionary meeting he often opened the proceedings by singing a solo, and some of the best hymns were written by himself. His "Warrior Songs" were trumpet calls to action. For his fiery zeal he could give a

†At Zeist, in Holland, there is a reproduction of this picture.

*For the names of the "First Fruits" see Appendix.

special reason. The more closely Zinzendorf studied the Scriptures, the more the conviction deepened within his soul that, before the eighteenth century closed, Christ would appear in bodily form to the Jews; and then, he declared, the Jews would learn, like St. Thomas, to say "My Lord and my God." By these Jews the glorious Gospel would then be preached to all mankind, and filled with this conviction, he said:—

The work is Thine, Lord Jesus Christ,
The glory and the shame;
The hour hath struck when all the world
Shall know Thy saving name.

For this reason Zinzendorf's poetry was exceptionally optimistic in character. He did not, of course, ignore the fact that his soldiers had many dangers to face, and that some of them had perished untimely.

Ambassadors of Christ,
Know ye the way ye go?
It leads into the jaws of death,
Is strewn with thorns and woe.

But to him these disasters were simply pledges of speedy victory. The more swiftly his soldiers fell in the ranks, the more swiftly should others fill the gap. No coward was fit to carry the Captain's banner. "If your finger trembles on the trigger," he said, "you will never learn to shoot straight; if you fear to stand in the fighting line, you will never rest in the tents." In a speech at Herrnhut, on January 19th, 1758, he used a curious comparison.† As the cab-horses in London wore blinkers, so the missionary, he said, must be blind to dangers; and the same thought—though not the same simile—is found in many of his hymns. In

†See "Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte," 1912, Vol. II., p. 136.

"Go, ye comrades" he urged to self-surrender; in "Sloth no beauty" he declared that the grandest sight in the world was the Christian warrior covered with dust; and in "Prince of Thy People" he foretold the almost immediate triumph of the Gospel. The very names he gave the Brethren stirred the blood. In order to fire their zeal, he used a great variety of military metaphors. "Christ," he said, "is the conquering Prince, with a voice like the blast of a trumpet, and His royal chariot rolls behind; His preachers, His warriors, His noble prisoners of war are 'Comrades of the Noble Order of Mockery'; and His Blood is their guide and their staff." On land or sea, said the Count, the missionaries were equally under the protection of Christ. For ten years (1748-58) the Moravian Church possessed its own missionary vessel, the *Irene*, a snow,† built at New York, and commanded by an American, Nicholas Garrison; this vessel frequently crossed the Atlantic, and also carried missionaries to Greenland and Surinam; and speaking of her exploits, Zinzendorf said that, as Christ Himself filled her sails, no harm would come to her from rocks, icebergs, and storms. His prophecy seems to have been literally fulfilled. As long as the *Irene* was in Moravian hands, none of the forces of nature damaged her; in 1758, however, she was captured by a French privateer, and a few weeks later she foundered. But the Brethren, said the Count, were more than the soldiers of Christ. They were His comrades; they had, like Him, to wear a crown of thorns; they shared both His shame and His glory; and, in all their trials, their consolation must be that, while, on earth, no wreath of fame would girdle their sunburnt brows, they could see

†A snow is a small three-masted vessel. For a full description see *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Scott mentions a snow in *Red-gauntlet* (Chap. XIV).

in imagination the pearly gates of the Holy City, the Lamb on the Throne, and the glories of the Paradise of God. With such songs upon their lips, the early Moravian missionaries feared no foe. "If you go to Labrador," said someone to Drachart, "the Eskimos will kill you." "If they kill me," he answered, "they will kill me."

The same spirit animated all the missionaries. With songs of praise Bishop Nitschmann and his comrades amazed John Wesley on the *Simmonds*; with songs the converts in St. Thomas escorted Martin to his cell; with a song Gottlieb Israel, clinging to the rock at Tortola, bade defiance to the winds and waves; with a song Matthew Stach confronted the men who had come to slay him; and with songs the captive Christian Indians met their fate at Gnadenhütten, on the Tuscarawas River.

May 9th, 1760 As the poet lay on his deathbed at Berthelsdorf, his last thoughts were of the Missions. He had sent out no fewer than 226 missionaries, and the results of their labours far exceeded his expectations.† "I only asked," he said, "for first fruits among the heathen, and thousands have been granted me. What a grand caravan there must be now before the throne of the Lamb."

†On the work accomplished by the Brethren, Dr. Gustav Warneck, author of the well-known "History of Protestant Missions," spoke as follows: "By 1760 the Moravian Church had done more for the heathen than all the other Protestant Churches put together." Address at Herrnhut, June 7th, 1900. See the official report of the Centenary Celebrations.

Chapter XIV.

THE COUNT'S SUCCESSORS, 1760—1800.

As soon as the Brethren had recovered from the shock occasioned by Zinzendorf's death, the chief question they had to consider was how far they should still follow his lead, and how far they should strike out new paths for themselves. To that question they gave a two-fold answer. There was some resemblance between Zinzendorf and Brutus. In his principles and ideals Zinzendorf, like Brutus, was almost perfect; in his methods he was often mistaken; and therefore, while his successors adhered to his main principles, they abandoned many of his methods and replaced them by what they considered better methods of their own.

1. Zinzendorf's Principles.

(*a*) *Doctrine.* According to Zinzendorf the chief duty of a preacher to the heathen was not to expound any system of dogmatic theology, but to tell the story of the Cross; to that principle his successors adhered; and taking as a motto St. Paul's words, "I determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," they declared, officially, at a General Synod, that henceforth, as in the past, 1764
the doctrine of the merits of the life and sufferings of Jesus should be the main substance of their message. For thirty years after Zinzendorf's death, the chief leader in the Church was Bishop Spangenberg; this man, in 1780, issued an official account of the Brethren's methods; and, speaking in the name of the Church, he said: "We always preach the same Christ that died for us on the Cross." In their mode of preaching, therefore, the Brethren

made no change. For this policy they gave an excellent reason. By means of this method Gottlieb Israel had created a revival in St. Thomas; by means of this method Schumann had won the hearts of the Arawack Indians; by means of this method both Tschoop and Kayarnak had been converted. Such tales had now become Moravian classics; similar stories were told by the converts in letters read at the monthly missionary meetings, and, judging by those letters, the Brethren concluded that on this fundamental point Zinzendorf was in the right.

(*b*) *Self-denial.* For many years after Zinzendorf's death, all the missionaries still worked without a salary, and, speaking broadly, the general principle was that while the Church paid the missionaries' travelling expenses, and sometimes sent them parcels of food and clothing, they had still to earn their own living, either by mental or by manual labour. The form of labour varied according to the district. In Jamaica some of the missionaries worked plantations; in St. Thomas they opened a large boot factory; in North America they shot and fished; in Greenland they had kitchen-gardens, cows and fishing-boats; in Surinam they cultivated corn-fields and orchards, and conducted a tailoring business at Paramaribo; in Labrador they traded with the Eskimos; in Tranquebar they planted a wonderful "Garden"; and in Bengal they acted as doctors and interpreters. The system had often led to great privations. In 1737 Frederick Martin found both his purse and his larder empty; in 1735 the Greenland missionaries had to live on mussels and seaweed, and suffered, in consequence, from scurvy; and in 1758, all the missionaries in the Danish West Indies, being unable, on account of the Seven Years' War, to obtain supplies from North America, had to pass a resolution to eat no bread. But the

missionaries were not entirely neglected. At the monthly missionary meetings collections for Foreign Missions were made. But the amount thus raised was very small. In 1758, *e.g.*, the Central Fund was only £300, and the sum sent out to the missionaries was only £200. For the purpose of supplying them with food and clothing three auxiliary societies were founded. The first was the Dutch "Brethren's Society for the Spread of the Gospel among the Heathen," founded in 1738, and renewed in 1795; the second, the English S.F.G., founded May 8th (N.S.), 1741; and the third, the American "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," founded in 1745, and renewed in 1788. The first sent out parcels to Surinam; the second to Labrador; and the third both to Zeisberger and his colleagues and to the West Indies.

But even with the aid of these Societies expenses could not be entirely covered.† At one important General Synod (1775), a new Central Mission Fund was established; fourteen years later the debt on the work was £12,000, and by 1800 this debt had vanished.

Let us now see how much each missionary cost the Church Funds. In the year 1800 the number of missionaries, counting wives, was 161; the cost that year to the Central Fund was £3,000; and thus,

†For evidence on this point see:—(1) A. G. Spangenberg's "Account of Moravian Missions," 1782; (2) C. I. La Trobe's Preface to Vol. I. of "Periodical Accounts," p. 7, and Introduction, p. 15; (3) Peter Braun's Letter in "Retrospect of the Mission in Antigua," p. 8. Both Spangenberg and La Trobe state that no missionary received a salary; and Braun's letter shows clearly that if the missionary was out of work he was on the verge of starvation. "We have nothing to eat except a little bread made of the flour sent us by our American Brethren and Sisters. For three months we have had no work, and consequently no means of earning anything. My dear wife has been so reduced by illness and suffering that she is little but skin and bone."

the expense on each missionary was only £18 12s.

(*c*) *Choice of Men.* For two reasons the Moravian Church still insisted that, while scholarly men were not excluded, most of the missionaries must be drawn from the artisan and labouring classes; first, because such men were best able to endure a rough life; and secondly, because, in the Church's opinion, higher education was not required. On each of these points C. I. La Trobe, the English Mission Secretary, was most emphatic. Students, he said, did not, as a rule, make as good missionaries as mechanics; and in the sphere of education the missionary needed only four great qualities. First, he must have a good knowledge of the Scriptures; second, a good understanding; third, a friendly disposition; and fourth, a heart filled with love to God.† But this system had one great disadvantage. With a few exceptions—such as Zeisberger and Kleinschmidt—the eighteenth century Moravian missionaries did very little translation work. For systematic Scripture translation no proper provision could be made.

(*d*) *The Lot.* On this matter, too, the Brethren were faithful to Zinzendorf. At the General Synods no vote was valid unless confirmed by the Lot. By the Lot men were appointed; by the Lot new work was planned; and by permission of the Lot alone were missionaries allowed to marry. Let a few examples show how the Lot was used. By Lot the Managing Board decided to continue the Mission in Tranquebar; by Lot it closed the station at Hoop, in Surinam; by Lot Kohlmeister was called to Labrador; by Lot, in South Africa, candidates were admitted to Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In due time, however, there was made

†See his "Concise Account," "Periodical Accounts," Vol. II., Appendix, p. 3.

one great exception. At the General Synod in 1789, the Brethren decided that the Lot should no longer be used in business matters.

(*e*) *Attitude to Government.* According to Zinzendorf, every missionary, wheresoever his lot was cast, must love and honour the King of the country; that spirit animated his successors; and one result of this policy was that, wheresoever the missionaries went, they had the sympathy of the Government. Washington praised their work among the Red Indians; Sir Hugh Pallisser aided them in Labrador; Governors supported their work in the Danish West Indies; Paramaribo officials begged them to preach to the slaves; Danish officials, in Greenland, called the Moravian converts the cream of the country; and the Earl of Caledon, in South Africa, asked the Moravian Church to build a station near Cape Town.

In these five ways, therefore, Zinzendorf's successors followed his lead.

2. CHANGES OF METHOD.

(*a*) *Government.* Under Zinzendorf the system was an absolute monarchy; under his successors it was more democratic. The three most important steps were as follows:—

(A) GENERAL SYNOD, 1764.

At this Synod two important measures were passed:—

(1) That henceforth the General Synod, consisting partly of ministers and missionaries, and partly of elected deputies, should be the supreme authority both in home and in foreign matters. (Thereby, the Moravian Church adopted an unique position. In the Moravian Church, Foreign Missions were the work of the Church as such;

in other Protestant Churches they were committed to special societies.)

(2) Foreign Missions were to be managed by a Board called the "Missions Deputation"; and this Board was, of course, appointed by the General Synod.

(B) GENERAL SYNOD, 1769.

All Moravian Church matters were to be managed by one Board, called the Unity's Elders' Conference.† This Board was divided into three departments, and one department managed the Foreign Missions.

(C) GENERAL SYNOD, 1789.

The U.E.C., as such, was to manage Foreign Missions, and the Mission Department was to be a sub-office. Thus Foreign Missions, more than ever, became the direct concern of the whole Church. This arrangement lasted a hundred years. General Synod represented the Church; by that Synod the U.E.C. was appointed, and by that U.E.C. the Foreign Missions were managed. In every department of the work the authority of the U.E.C. was supreme. U.E.C. appointed Spangenberg to prepare a "Missionary's Guide"; U.E.C. appointed men to their posts; U.E.C. sent official inspectors. Thus did the Brethren replace the rule of one man by the rule of the whole Moravian Church. Formerly, the missionaries had obeyed Zinzendorf; now they obeyed the U.E.C., and in obeying the U.E.C. they obeyed the whole Church.

(*b*) *The First Fruits Idea.* The next change was still more important. For two or three years before Zinzendorf's death, John de Watteville and other leaders had been expressing dissatisfaction with Zinzendorf's First Fruits Idea; Watteville even

†Henceforth referred to as U.E.C.

expressed the hope that for every convert gained there might soon be a thousand; and now the whole Moravian Church, by a Synodal resolution (1764), declared that henceforth it would endeavour, not merely to seek for Candace-Souls, but to preach the Gospel to all, strengthen the fields already established, and organize these fields as integral parts of the Church. For this purpose the "Conference" system was now, as far as possible, applied to the mission-fields. Each field now became a province; each province now had its "Helpers' Conference"; and each Helpers' Conference had its president. At the close of the century the provinces were as follows:—(1) Danish West Indies, (2) Jamaica, (3) Antigua, (4) Barbados, (5) St. Kitts, (6) South Africa, (7) North America, (8) Surinam, (9) Labrador, (10) Greenland. Thus did the Moravian Church reject Zinzendorf's First Fruits Idea; thus did she also reject his theory that the time for the heathen had not yet come; thus, taking Matthew XIII., 47, as a motto, did she become in the fullest sense a true Missionary Church.

(*c*) *Missionary Literature.* Finally, in opposition to Zinzendorf's views, the Moravian Church now authorised the publication of missionary literature. The system adopted by Zinzendorf was peculiar. During his lifetime no mission histories, no magazines, no systematic accounts were published. At Herrnhut there was a body of clerks, who copied out the diaries and letters sent home by the missionaries; each congregation received a copy; and the general understanding was that each congregation heard the same reports on the same day. Once a month there was a missionary meeting, called "Congregation Day." At that meeting the diaries and letters were read, and sometimes the reading process lasted several hours. With this

mode of instruction, however, Zinzendorf's successors were not content. He had made known the facts to Moravians only; they would make them known to the general public; and, therefore, they now authorised the following publications:—

1. BOOKS.
   (a) "History of Greenland," † David Cranz, 1765 (German and English).
   (b) "History of the Moravian Church," Part II., including sketches of all the Mission-fields, David Cranz, 1771. (German and English.)
   (c) "Succinct View of the Missions," Benjamin La Trobe, 1771. (English.)
   (d) "History of the Mission in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan," G. A. Oldendorp, 1777. (German.)
   (e) "Account of the Brethren's Work among the Heathen," A. G. Spangenberg, 1782. (German and English.)
   (f) "History of the Mission to the North American Indians," G. H. Loskiel, 1789. (German and English.)
   (g) "History of the Moravian Church, 1769—1801," J. R. Hegner. Mostly a record of missionary work (German only).

2. MAGAZINES.
   (a) "Reports from Moravian Congregations,"* issued for general circulation, but not printed till 1819 (German).
   (b) "Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the Heathen," 1790.

†This book was highly praised by Dr. Johnson: "The man who could not relish the first part was no philosopher, and he who could not enjoy the second was no Christian."

*"Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine."

First Editor, Christian Ignatius La Trobe; published by the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, and printed at 10, Nevill's Court, Fetter Lane. The first Missionary Magazine in the English language.

(c) "Reports of the Evangelical Brethren's Missions to the Heathen," 1798; Dutch. Published by the above-mentioned (*see p.* 189) Dutch Auxiliary Society.

It is doubtful how far this change was beneficial. Formerly the Church members had heard reports direct from the missionaries; now they read the story in cold print; and one result of the change was that, while missionary information was more widely diffused, there was no longer the same personal touch.

8. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

(*a*) *C. I. La Trobe's Policy.* Among the Christian ministers in England, no one hated slavery more than C. I. La Trobe, the Moravian Mission Secretary in England, and the Editor of "Periodical Accounts." In his "Letters to my Children,"† C. I. La Trobe says that when he was a boy at Fulneck School, he read Captain William Snelgrave's "A New Account of Guinea and the Slave Trade"; that book filled his young soul with horror; and later he was the personal friend, not only of William Wilberforce, but of Dr. Porteous, Bishop of London, and of Lady Middleton. Why, then, did C. I. La Trobe not support Wilberforce in public? Why

†In this book La Trobe mentions a fact noticed by very few historians. Who was the first person to suggest that the question of the abolition of the slave trade be brought before the House of Commons? Who first inspired Wilberforce to take up the cause? Not Clarkson, as most historians assert, but Lady Middleton, wife of Sir Charles Middleton, Comptroller of the Navy. See Letter II., pp. 21-22.

did he, in private, call the slave trade a monster and yet make no public attempt to kill it? Why did he not espouse the cause in "Periodical Accounts"? Because he feared that, if he did so, the slave-traders would attack the Moravian missionaries and destroy the Mission. For this reason, therefore, La Trobe adopted a very cautious policy. Privately, and as a personal friend, he supported Wilberforce, and supplied him with useful information. On the other hand, as an official, La Trobe maintained a dead silence. No hint of his opinions appeared in "Periodical Accounts," and not till 1815 did he make them generally known.

(*b*) *The Moravian Method.* According to C. I. La Trobe, the Moravian missionaries in the West Indies never interfered between masters and slaves. Bishop Spangenberg makes a similar statement, and in his "Account of the Brethren's Work," he says—without, unfortunately, giving the date and place—that on one occasion the West Indian missionaries passed the following resolutions:—

(1) We will consider it as our duty that our missionaries among the heathen are not to interfere with the commerce between them and the merchants, which ought never to be disturbed by us or by any fault of ours. Nay, we will faithfully inculcate to the heathen who belong to us that they must in their dealings avoid all fraud and deceit (which are otherwise so peculiar to the heathen), and that they shall approve themselves honest and upright in all respects.

(2) We will never omit diligently to set before the slaves the doctrines which the Apostles preached to servants. Servants in those days were almost universally slaves. We

will put them in mind that it is not by chance, but of God, that one man is a master and another a slave, and that, therefore, they ought to acquiesce in the ways of God; nay, that their service, if done with all faithfulness for the sake of Jesus, is looked upon as though they were serving the Lord Jesus Christ.

(3) We will frequently remind the heathen of what Paul saith: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God."

By teaching these principles the Brethren made the slaves fit for freedom, and that was their real contribution to the cause.

(c) *The Result.* In reply to a question addressed to him by a Committee of the Privy Council, C. I. La Trobe described the good work done by the missionaries among the slaves. Among La Trobe's chief friends was William Wilberforce; to Wilberforce he showed his report; and one of Wilberforce's arguments in Parliament was that, by their excellent work, the Moravians had made many slaves fit for freedom. Thus, in their own quiet way, did the Moravian missionaries aid the cause. By their work among the slaves they gave Wilberforce his strongest argument. 1787

4. INFLUENCE OVER OTHER MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

For sixty years (1732-92) the Moravian Church had been the only real Protestant Missionary Church in the World; now, towards the close of the century, there arose other Protestant Missionary Societies, and the interesting point to notice is that, in the

formation of some of these Societies, the Moravian Church, either directly or indirectly, played a prominent part.

The first Protestants influenced by the Brethren were the Methodists. In their case, however, their influence, as far as Foreign Missions were concerned, was only indirect. As John Wesley met several Moravian missionaries—*e.g.*, David Nitschmann on the *Simmonds*, Spangenberg in Georgia, and Böhler in England—he must have admired their zeal for the conversion of the heathen. Further, he must have heard much about Foreign Missions at Herrnhut, and in his famous "The World is my Parish," he echoed Zinzendorf's words: "We must proclaim the Saviour to the world." His Gospel zeal led in time to Foreign Missions. Peter Böhler influenced John Wesley; John Wesley influenced Dr. Coke; Dr. Coke preached in the West Indies; and before the close of the century Wesleyan missionaries were preaching to the slaves at Kingston in Jamaica.

On the Baptists the influence of the Brethren was more direct. For some years before he preached his sermon at Nottingham, William Carey, the leader of the famous Serampore Three, had been familiar with the Brethren's work. He read their magazine, "Periodical Accounts"; he referred expressly to their work in his pamphlet, "Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen"; and, finally, in the famous scene referred to in the opening chapter of this book, he appealed, in so many words, to their
1792 example. "See what these Moravians have done," he said. "Can we not follow their example, and, in obedience to our Heavenly Master, go out into the world and preach the Gospel to the heathen?" His words meant more than most readers generally

suppose. He was referring, when he said Moravians, not only to Germans, but to Englishmen. According to one modern writer of mission history,† William Carey, the founder, with other ministers, of the Baptist Missionary Society, was the "first Englishman who was a Foreign Missionary." The statement is incorrect. For several years before Carey was heard of, a large number of British Moravians had been toiling in the foreign field, and Carey, in "Periodical Accounts," had seen some of their names in print. In Antigua had worked Samuel Isles, Joseph Newby, and Samuel Watson; in Jamaica, George Caries, David Taylor, Samuel Church, Samuel Russell, Thomas Shallcross, John Brown, Joseph Powell, John Metcalf, Joseph Jackson, John Fred John, Edward Roberts, Sam Fred Church, and Christian Lister; in St. Kitts and St. Croix, James Birkby; in Barbados, Benjamin Brookshaw and John Fozzard; in Tobago, John Montgomery, the father of James Montgomery, the well-known hymn-writer and poet; in Labrador, William Turner, Samuel Towle, James Branagan, James Rhodes, and Christian Lister; and in North America, William Edwards. From these facts we are justified in concluding that William Carey was inspired by the example, not only of German Moravians, but also of Moravians with British blood in their veins.

His companion, Marshman, was also indebted to the Brethren.

"Thank you, Moravians," he said, "you have done me good. If I am ever a missionary worth a straw, I shall, under our Saviour, owe it to you."

Again, the Moravians had something to do with the foundation of the London Missionary Society.

†George Smith, "Short History of Christian Missions," p. 160.

Among the founders of the Society one of the most influential was Rowland Hill. He had read much about Moravian Missions, corresponded with Peter Braun of Antigua, and owed his zeal, very largely, to Braun's example. The other founders also came under Moravian influence. They all dipped into the pages of "Periodical Accounts"; they brought copies of that magazine to their meetings; and, in their speeches, they enforced their arguments by referring to what the Moravians had done. But the influence of the Moravians did not end here. The Society was founded, the leaders consulted, and not knowing how to do their work, they addressed to Christian Ignatius La Trobe the following practical questions:—

1. How do you obtain your missionaries?
2. What is the true calling of a missionary?
3. Do you demand scientific and theological learning?
4. Do you consider previous instruction in Divine things an essential?
5. How do you employ your missionaries from the time when they are first called to the time when they set out?
6. Have you found by experience that the cleverest and best educated men make the best missionaries?
7. What do you do when you establish a missionary station? Do you send men with their wives, or single people, or both?
8. What have you found the most effective way of accomplishing the conversion of the heathen?
9. Can you tell us the easiest way of learning a language?

10. How much does your missionary ship cost you ?

To these questions La Trobe replied in detail, the founders thanked him for his courtesy, and the first apostles of the L.M.S. went out with Moravian wisdom in their heads and Moravian instructions in their pockets.†

And so, at the close of the eighteenth century, the Brethren found themselves in a new position. For sixty years they had toiled almost alone. Henceforward, they had friends on every hand. In Germany, the members of the "Society for Christian Fellowship" were contributing funds for Moravian Missions and laying the foundations of the Basel Missionary Society; in England arose the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Baptist Missionary Society; in Scotland, Presbyterians had founded the Scottish Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, and the Northern Missionary Society; and thus, at the dawn of what Dr. A. T. Pierson calls the "Modern Mission Century," the Brethren took their place as a regiment in that great Protestant Army which had now undertaken, like Zinzendorf years before, to proclaim the Saviour to the World.

What, then, had the Moravians done when William Carey issued his great challenge at Kettering? They had sent out more than 300 missionaries; they had established stations in the West Indies, in North America, in Surinam, in Greenland, and in Labrador; they had attempted to convert the Jews; they had sent expeditions to Lapland, Russia, Guinea, South Africa, Ceylon, Algiers, Constantinople, Wallachia,

†In his "History of the L.M.S.," the Rev. C. Silvester Horne makes no reference to these facts.

the Calmucks, Livonia, Persia, Egypt, Abyssinia, the Tartars, the Coromandel Coast, the Nicobar Islands, and Bengal; and now they had under their charge 14,976 baptized converts. At the General Synod in 1789, the official returns were as follows:—Danish West Indies, 6,690; British West Indies, 6,820; South America, 312; North America, 200; Greenland, 891; Labrador, 63; total, 14,976.

BOOK II.

THE BUILDERS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	JAMAICA; OR WEST INDIES; WESTERN PROVINCE, 1805-1914	207
2.	THE WEST INDIES; EASTERN PROVINCE, 1800-1914	230
3.	GREENLAND, 1800-1900	236
4.	THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1808-1901	246
5.	SURINAM, 1800-1914	250
6.	SOUTH AFRICA, WEST; OR THE HOTTENTOTS, 1792-1914	266
7.	SOUTH AFRICA, EAST; OR THE KAFFIRS, 1828-1914	288
8.	LABRADOR, 1804-1914	300

Chapter I.

JAMAICA.

1. John Lang, 1805—1818.

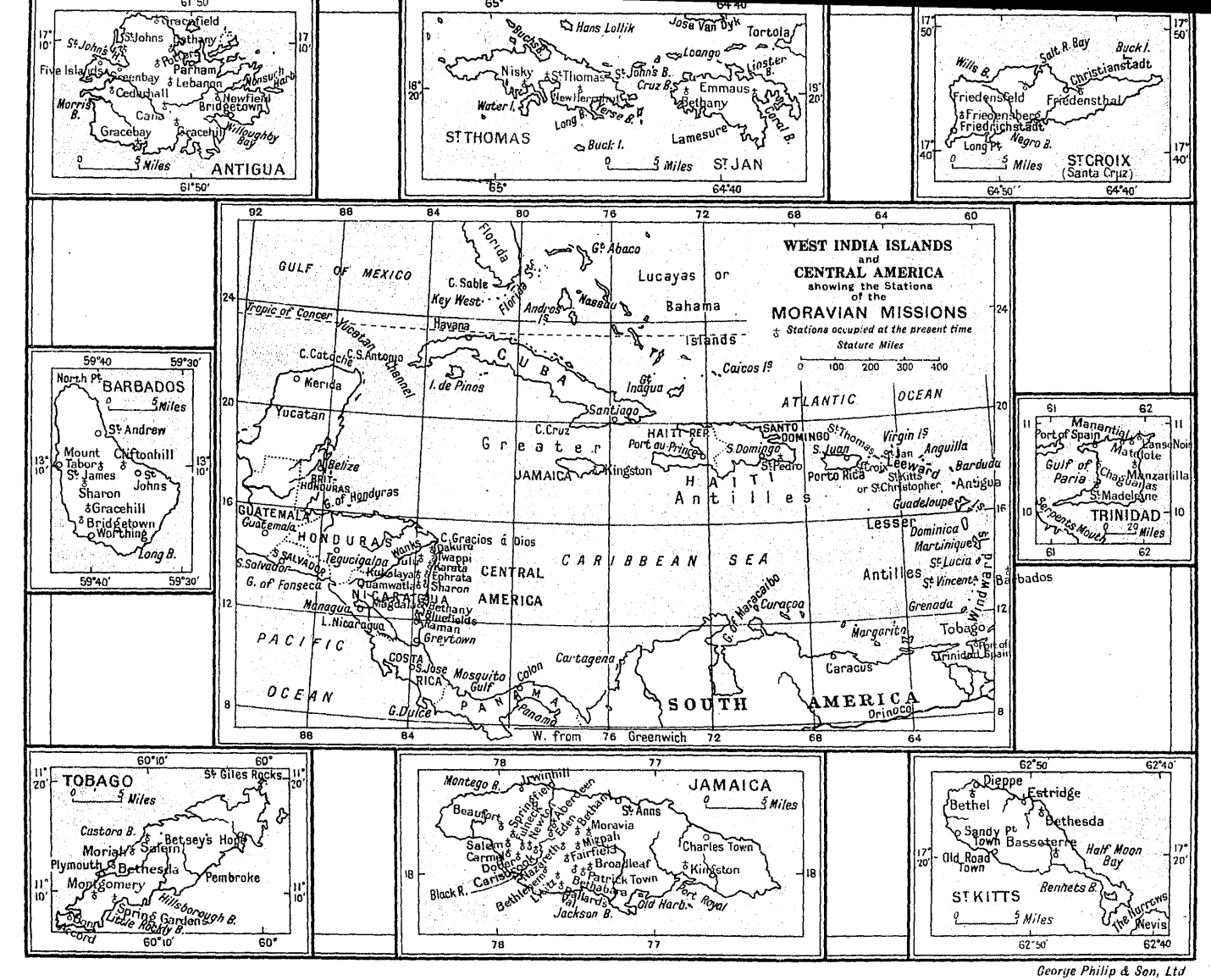
As Jamaica has often been described as the "Fairest Jewel in the British Crown," and as it is quite as civilised as England, some readers may fondly imagine that, except in the pioneer days, our missionaries had few trials to endure. It is, therefore, all the more needful to remember that, while they did not live among savages, they had, during the nineteenth century, a long succession of foes to overcome. Each leader had a hard problem to solve; each, though in a quiet way, helped to uplift the people; and each, though he did not covet the honour, might be described as a hero.

The first leader of note was John Lang. At the time when he arrived on the scene, there was only one Moravian Church in Jamaica; that Church was situated at Old Carmel, and the scene that greeted John Lang's eyes was enough to break his heart. On three sides of the building lay a black swamp. Among reeds and bushes alligators lifted their snouts; behind the building lay a churchyard surrounded by a brick wall, with broken bottles at the top; the Black River close at hand reeked with deadly germs; and gnats and mosquitoes buzzed in the sultry air. For thirteen years John Lang held the fort in this death-trap. As Moravian missionaries still received no salaries, John Lang's first task was to earn his own living. For this purpose, like his predecessors, he not only kept a small plantation worked by slaves, but also dealt in cattle and logwood, and acted as waywarden for the Government; and thus he earned sufficient, not only for himself, but

also for his two colleagues, Joseph Jackson and John Ellis, at the little out-preaching places of Two-Mile-Wood and Mesopotamia.

For three or four years John Lang laboured in vain. "Oh! Jamaica, Jamaica!" he writes in his diary (1809), "dead as a flint, yea, hard as adamant to all that comes of or from God!" The cause of his despair was two-fold. Both the planters and their slaves seemed hopeless. For most of the planters he could not say a good word, and other observers confirmed his testimony. In our own House of Lords one planter boldly declared that, so far as he knew, not a single planter in Jamaica was true to his marriage vows; Lady Nugent, the Governor's wife, was shocked by the planters' immorality, and described their disgusting habits in her "Jamaica in 1801"; and Archibald Monteith, a Moravian Negro lay preacher, speaking about the planters as he knew them, declared that, while many of them were good-hearted and treated their slaves with kindness, the idea that adultery was wicked was not even entertained. Among the slaves moral conditions were even worse. Most of them believed in Obeahism, only a very few could read or write, and the Bible was generally known as the "White Man's Book." On some of the estates, it is true, large numbers of slaves had been baptized. But, so far as our evidence goes, the baptism was a sham. No religious instruction was given, the slaves regarded the rite as a form of magic, and sometimes, it is said, the service was followed by a dance.

The first spiritual impulse came from the United States. For some months an American evangelist, named George Lewis, created quite a sensation in Jamaica. His services were attended by thousands, and often lasted till the small hours of the morning. The slaves had what they called "The Convince," and


WEST INDIA ISLANDS
and
CENTRAL AMERICA
showing the Stations
of the
MORAVIAN MISSIONS
Stations occupied at the present time
Statute Miles
0 100 200 300 400
GULF OF MEXICO
Florida
Gt Abaco
Lucayas or
Bahama
Islands
Key West
Havana
Tropic of Cancer
Yucatan Channel
C. Sable
Florida
Andros Is
Nassau
C. Catoche
C. S. Antonio
I. de Pinos
CUBA
Caicos Is
Inagua
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Merida
Yucatan
Santiago
C. Cruz
HAITI REP.
Port au Prince
SANTO DOMINGO
S. Domingo
St Pedro
Greater
JAMAICA
Kingston
HAITI
Antilles
St Thomas
Virgin Is
St Juan
Anguilla
Barbuda
Porto Rico
St Kitts
or St Christopher
Leeward
Antigua
Guadeloupe Is
Belize
BRIT. HONDURAS
G. of Honduras
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Lesser
Dominica
Martinique
St Lucia
St Vincent
Barbados
Antilles
Grenada
Windward
Tobago
Port of Trinidad
C. Gracios á Dios
Wanks
Dakura
Wappi
Tegucigalpa
Kulalaya
Narata
Ephrata
Sharon
Bethany
Bluefields
Naman
Greytown
EL SALVADOR
S. Salvador
G. of Fonseca
Quamwatla
NICARAGUA
Managua
L. Nicaragua
CENTRAL AMERICA
CARIBBEAN SEA
G. of Maracaibo
Curaçoa
Margarita
Caracus
PACIFIC OCEAN
COSTA RICA
S. Jose
Mosquito Gulf
Colon
Cartagena
PANAMA
Panama
G. Dulce
SOUTH AMERICA
Orinoco
W. from Greenwich
92 88 84 80 76 72 68 64 60
24 20 16 12 8
Hans Lollik
Josa Van Dyk
Tortola
Buck I.
Loango
Nisky
St Thomas
St John's B.
Cruz B.
Emmaus
Bethany
Lionfish B.
Water I.
Long I.
Perse B.
Carval B.
Buck I.
Lamesure
ST THOMAS
ST JAN
Miles
65° 64°40
18° 19°
Salt R. Bay
Buck I.
Wills B.
Christianstadt
Friedensfeld
Friedensthal
Friedensberg
Friedrichstadt
Long Pt
Negro B.
ST CROIX
(Santa Cruz)
17°50 17°40
64°50 64°40
Gracefield
St Johns
Bethany
St John's
Potters
Five Islands
Greenbay
Parham
Lebanon
Nonsuch
Newfield
Cedarhall
Bridgetown
Morris B.
Cana
Gracebay
Gracehill
Willoughby Bay
ANTIGUA
61°50
17°10
BARBADOS
North Pt
St Andrew
Mount Tabor
Cliftonhill
St James
St Johns
Sharon
Gracehill
Bridgetown
Worthing
Long B.
59°40 59°30
13°10
Manarial
Port of Spain
Matelote
Lanse Noir
Gulf of Paria
Chaguanas
Manzanilla
St Madeleine
Serpents Mouth
TRINIDAD
29 Miles
61 62
11 10
TOBAGO
St Giles Rocks
Castora B.
Betsey's Hope
Morial's Salem
Plymouth
Bethesda
Montgomery
Pembroke
Hillsborough B.
Spring Garden
Little Rocky B.
Scarborough
60°10' 60°
11°20 11°10
JAMAICA
Montego B.
Irwinhill
Beaufort
Springfield
Unity
Newry
Aberdeen
Eden
Bethany
St Anns
Moravia
Salem
Carmel
Dobbin
Mizpah
Fairfield
Broadleaf
Charles Town
Kingston
Carmel
Hazzeth
Patrick Town
Black R.
Bethel
Ebenezer
Lititz
Bethabara
Bethlehem
Ballards
Old Harb.
Port Royal
Jackson B.
78 77
18
Dieppe
Estridge
Bethel
Bethesda
Sandy Pt Town
Basseterre
Half Moon Bay
Old Road Town
ST KITTS
Bennets B.
The Narrows
Nevis
62°50 62°40
17°20
George Philip & Son, Ltd

asked, like the Philippian jailer, what they must do to be saved. Some resorted to fasting; some had wonderful dreams; and one convert, Robert Peart, brought the revival to Old Carmel. And the story he told John Lang was characteristic. To him, as to many others in the island, there had been granted a vision. In that vision, said Robert Peart, he had seen a stranger; three times the stranger approached and kissed him; and that stranger was no other than the Lord Christ Himself. For some weeks John Lang knew not what to make of this revival; then he had an interview with George Lewis; and, being convinced that the man was genuine, he took the tide at the flood. It is strange how events turned out. As soon as the church at Old Carmel began to be crowded, John Lang was regarded as a dangerous character. By certain planters he was now accused of teaching sedition; some of his converts were summoned before the magistrates, and the nature of his work may be judged by the answers given in Court:—

"What sort of instruction do you receive?"

"We are taught to believe in God and Jesus Christ."

"Well! What more?"

"We must not tell lies."

"What more?"

"We must not steal from Massa."

"What more?"

"We must not run away and rob Massa of his work."

"What more?"

"We must not pretend to be sick when we are not."

"What more?"

"We must not have two wives, for by-and-by they will get jealous and hurt one another, and Massa's work will fall back."

"What more?"

"We must pray for buckra and everybody."

The examination was of fundamental importance. The more closely John Lang's work was examined, the more obvious it became that, so far from being a dangerous teacher, he was teaching the slaves to be obedient; all his colleagues acted on the same principle; and now, encouraged by many white friends, the Brethren founded new stations at Windsor (1813), Irwin Hill (1815), and New Eden (1820). At the height of his glory John Lang passed
1818 away. By the negroes he was beloved, and was called "Parson Lang"; his name is held in honour to the present day; and only a few years ago (1908)—at the little village of Newton, near Old Carmel—certain admirers erected the "John Lang Memorial Church."

2. JOHN ELLIS, 1824-34.

With John Ellis we enter on a new epoch. For ten years this level-headed Yorkshireman was the chief leader of the Mission in Jamaica. During that period three great events occurred, and those events laid the foundation of the prosperity of the cause.

(1) The first was the foundation of Fairfield on
1824 the May Day Hills (1824). For this move the Brethren had a special reason. Among the slaves who attended the church at Old Carmel, large numbers came down from the May Day Hills; these slaves were of a higher type than those who lived in the valley; and the Brethren very soon perceived that if they would have true success they must follow what they called "the mountain people." In all probability, the cause of the difference in character was climatic. In the valley, the slaves were inclined to be lazy; on the hills they were alert and energetic.

For the missionaries, too, the change was beneficial. In the past they had lived by a fever-swamp; henceforward they breathed pure mountain air. For beauty and health alike Fairfield was almost unequalled in the island. In summer the temperature never rose above 80 deg. Fahrenheit; in winter fires were rarely needed; and all the year round, in the morning and evening, the air was sweet and cool. Nor was this the only beneficial change. At the very time when Fairfield was made the headquarters, the Moravian Mission Board began to pay the missionaries a small salary. In the past, they had been compelled to work plantations; henceforward, like the Anglican clergy, they could give all their time to spiritual work; and, therefore, for the first time they were now treated with more respect by the planters. At Old Carmel the Brethren had been despised; at Fairfield they were highly honoured; and many of the planters now assisted the cause. At Fairfield itself one planter preached under a fig-tree, and another gave all the timber for the new church. At New Carmel, Hutchinson Scott not only gave the land, but also erected a temporary church, made a road, and entertained the missionaries at his own house. At New Eden, Edmund Green gave twenty-six acres. At New Bethlehem, James Miller gave the land; at Beaufort and Salem, the planters were at least friendly; and finally, at Lititz, the Hon. D. Snaife not only gave the land, but added a donation of £100. The situation, therefore, is fairly clear. With Fairfield as their headquarters, and with the aid of friendly planters, the Brethren, under Ellis's leadership, had now a firm and permanent footing in the Parish of Manchester.

(2) Secondly, John Ellis was a great Sunday-School pioneer. At the time when he arrived in Jamaica,

1826-34 the great problem of negro education had not even been considered; neither Church nor State had lifted a finger; and, so far as I have been able to discover, the only person in Jamaica who had tried to teach negro children to read and write was a certain Mrs. Cooper, of the Cruse, an estate not far from Fairfield. John Ellis, however, tried to solve the whole problem. It is well to note the exact order of events. First, in 1826, John Ellis, with the permission of the local planters, opened a small Sunday School at Fairfield, and his wife became the first Sunday School teacher; then his friend, Mrs. Hutchinson Scott, wrote to the London Association in aid of Moravian Missions, urging that something definite be done for negro education; then, in response to that letter, the London Association formed the "Negro School Fund"; then some English ladies founded the "Ladies' Negro Education Society"; then this Ladies' Society opened a branch in Jamaica, and the Secretary of the Jamaica Branch was Mrs. Cooper, of the Cruse; and thus we have the interesting fact that, while a Moravian missionary opened the first Sunday School, the first people in Jamaica to propose an education fund were two planters' wives. The new movement rapidly spread. By the year 1834 every Moravian Church had its Sunday School. Some of the teachers were whites; others juvenile slaves, trained by the Brethren; and others veterans who had trained themselves. For regular service each teacher received, at first, a small fee of £3 10s. a year; and the scholars were encouraged by a system of rewards. Each child who arrived in time, *i.e.*, at 9 a.m., received a ticket; this ticket had money value; and once a quarter, according to the number of his tickets, the child received a book-prize.

(3) With Sunday Schools, however, neither Ellis nor his colleagues were content. The first man to

open a day school was John Scholefield; the place was Mt. Airy, near New Carmel; and by the year 1834 each station also possessed its day school. July, 1827

Meanwhile, during this period, great events had been taking place in Jamaica, and by those events the real value of the Brethren's work was tested. The situation may be briefly explained. At the very time when John Ellis took charge of the work at Fairfield, Fowell Buxton, in the House of Commons, carried his momentous resolution: "That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion." Soon after a law was passed forbidding the flogging of slaves in the open air, and the consequence was that Emancipation became the grand topic of discussion. For eight years Jamaica was in a ferment, and in due course the excitement led to violence. On the one hand certain planters, at a mass meeting, passed a solemn resolution that if emancipation were granted they would simply defy the British Government; on the other hand certain slaves, chiefly in the Parish of St. James, heard that emancipation had been granted already, and that all the slaves would be free on Christmas Day; and, therefore, when Christmas Day arrived, and no further news had been heard, they broke into open rebellion and fired a hundred plantations. For some weeks the greatest excitement prevailed. The red glare in the sky could be seen at Fairfield, fifty miles away. Some of the planters galloped in terror to the coast; others formed a small defensive army; the chief rebels were speedily caught and hanged; and red-coats were stationed at the church doors. At this crisis the Moravian converts shewed how well they had been taught. Instead of encouraging hopes of emancipation—which, they said, might or might not be granted sooner or later—all the missionaries 1823-31 1831

had consistently urged their converts to be loyal and obedient. "Do not listen," they would say, "to foolish stories," and now they had their legitimate reward. At Fairfield there was not one sign of disorder; at New Eden the converts promised that, much as freedom might be desired, they would use no illegal means to obtain it; at Fulneck, New Carmel, and Mesopotamia, not one convert struck work; and finally, those who struck work in other places were easily persuaded to resume work. But the finest spirit was shewn in the Parish of St. James. Among the converts at Irwin Hill were five Native Helpers; all five were employed on neighbouring estates; and now, when the rebellion burst out, all five, as James Light, the missionary, declared, "did their duty to their earthly masters." At Williamsfield, Robert Hall defended his master's house so stoutly that the rebels put a price on his head. At Irwin, William Hall stored water in buckets, and thereby prevented the fire. At Worcester, William Dickson saved his master's property, and received a suitable reward for so doing. At Tyrall, the Native Helper appointed a patrol, and thereby preserved the property intact; and finally, at a small estate, named Fairfield, the Helper persuaded all the slaves to be loyal. Let us not attribute this conduct to fear or policy. With all the force at his command, James Light, at Irwin Hill, had endeavoured to promote good feeling between planters and slaves; both sides had profited by his discourses, and the slaves under his care were loyal, not because they had a servile spirit, but because they had learned to honour their masters.

But now the Brethren had an unpleasant surprise. In spite of their efforts on behalf of law and order, many of the Moravian missionaries were accused of disloyalty. For some months

there was an absurd rumour that they were secret preachers of sedition. One missionary, Henry Pfeiffer, was seized at New Eden, carried to Mandeville, imprisoned in the organ loft of the Parish Church, and tried on the charge of preaching a seditious sermon; and though Pfeiffer was, of course, acquitted, there was still a great deal of suspicion against the Brethren. In order to probe the matter to the bottom, the House of Assembly appointed a Committee of Inquiry. The result was curious. With perfect truth the Committee reported that once in eight weeks the Moravian Missionary held a private meeting with his converts, commonly known as a "speaking"; at these "speakings," suggested the Committee, the recent rebellion had probably been hatched; and acting on this naïve suggestion, the House of Assembly issued a declaration that the teaching and preaching, not only of Moravians, but also of "Wesleyans and Methodists," had, to say the least, a seditious tendency. **Jan., 1832**

But the ill-feeling against the Moravians did not last very long. In reply to the Committee of Inquiry, the Brethren issued a "Remonstrance," wherein they explained fully, not only how their converts had been taught, but how they had behaved during the rebellion; and this simple statement was so convincing that, so far from being suspected, the Brethren were now praised for their loyalty. The Bishop of Jamaica, Lipscombe, spoke in their praise; the new Governor, Earl Mulgrave, promised to protect them, visited Fairfield, and allowed his wife to become the Patroness of the Female Refuge School; and testimonials in the Brethren's favour, signed by magistrates, clerks, and other government officials, were printed in the *Jamaica Courant* and the *Kingston Chronicle*. **April, 1832**

At length, by means of two Acts of Parliament, the long desired emancipation was granted. By the first Act (August 1st, 1834), the slaves, before becoming free, had first to serve a short term of apprenticeship; by the second (August 1st, 1838), the apprenticeship system was abolished, and emancipation granted outright; and thus two different days, August 1st, 1834, and August 1st, 1838, came afterwards to be known as Emancipation Day.

On each occasion thanksgiving services were held, and on the second, the more important, the scene at Fairfield was one long remembered. At 4 a.m. the church-bell began to chime; during the morning the converts arrived, arrayed in dazzling white; and so great was the congregation that the officials had to divide it into two sections. Inside the Church, the preacher was Ellis's successor, Jacob Zorn; outside, under a fig-tree, his native assistant, Price; and each preached from the words: "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." In the Church itself the excitement was uproarious; and three times the delighted people interrupted the preacher.

"You must give the glory to God," said Zorn.

"Yes, Massa!" the people answered. "We do thank the Lord for it. Bless the Lord!"

At the close of the service all the converts sang the following prayer:—

Jesus, the great Deliverer,
Our sluggish wills provoke;
Thy better freedom to desire,
Freedom from Satan's yoke.

But Zorn, being a practical man, desired something more than praise and thanksgiving. Freedom, in his opinion, had its dangers; some, he feared, might use it to take to drink; and, therefore, before the

proceedings closed, he founded his first Temperance Society. The day was over; the old order had passed; and new problems now awaited the Brethren.

3. JACOB ZORN, 1834-43.

As soon as the Jamaica negroes obtained their freedom, many people in the island feared that they would make a bad use of the gift. At first sight the prospect was alarming. Among the hills there still lived fierce Maroons; in the woods young lads ran naked and lived on raw potatoes; in the towns there was a rum-shop at every corner. From these facts pessimists drew their own conclusions. "Most of the negroes," they said, "will work no more, the common peace will be broken, wives will be kicked to death and children neglected, and drink will destroy its thousands."

With these dismal forebodings, however, the Brethren entirely disagreed; to Jacob Zorn, the new leader, emancipation was simply a great opportunity; and relying on the uplifting power of the Gospel, he, like Ellis, his predecessor, attempted three methods of reform:—

(1) First, being a loyal Moravian, he endeavoured to establish as many new stations as possible. In 1834 the Brethren founded Beaufort; in 1838 New Hope and Bethany; in 1839, Lititz; and in 1840 Bethabara. At most of these places Zorn himself acted as land-surveyor; he had also a fascinating manner, and obtained subscriptions from the Governor; and thus he strengthened the Moravian Church, not only in numbers and influence, but also in prestige.

(2) Secondly, like John Ellis, Zorn laid great stress on education. But Zorn was not content with Ellis's methods. Ellis had merely endeavoured to establish Day Schools; Zorn hoped to establish 1835

Boarding Schools; and his reason for this policy was that, so far as he could see, the children would never make much progress unless they were separated from their parents. On this point he wrote an important letter to his supporters in England (August 18th, 1835). "Let us," he pleaded, "establish in Jamaica a number of Industrial Boarding Schools; let those schools be staffed by competent teachers from England; and let the children in those schools, by means of their own industry, earn sufficient for their own maintenance."

His scheme had some prospect of success. In the year 1835—*i.e.*, immediately after the first Emancipation Act—the British Government inaugurated its system of Annual Parliamentary Grants for purposes of Negro Education. The first grant for Jamaica was £20,000; the Moravian share of this sum was £1,500, and one condition laid down by the Government was that for every £1 provided by the State the Church concerned should raise 10s. To those terms the Moravian Church agreed. The Moravian Mission Board promised the needed £750; the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel opened a Negro School Building Fund; and with the £2,250 now in hand the Brethren soon erected thirteen schools. In two important respects, however, Zorn was disappointed. First, so far as I can discover, these schools did not become Industrial Schools; secondly, they were not Boarding Schools, but Day Schools; and though, in the reports I read of children who brought five days' rations with them, and who, therefore, might be called weekly boarders, Zorn's boarding school idea was not fully realised. Most of the pupils still lived with their parents; those parents, in many cases, were still half heathen; and this fact partly accounts for the troubles recorded in the next section.

With this state of things, however, Zorn was dissatisfied. "At all costs," he contended, "negro boys must be withdrawn from their parents and taught industrious habits." For this purpose, therefore, he now opened at Fairfield his "Manual Labour and Training School." Here the boys were 1840
genuine boarders; here they learned to wash their own faces, comb their own hair, make their own beds, and sweep the rooms; and here they tilled the school garden, and thereby, to some extent, paid their own board. For many years this school, though small, rendered efficient service; some of the pupils became good day-school teachers, while others, after a short course at the Mico Institution, Kingston, became local preachers; and the real tragedy of the situation was that, on account of the lack of money, similar schools could not be opened at the other stations.

(3) His last scheme was even more ambitious. At the very time when he opened his training school, the Basel Missionary Society was seeking for colonists for Central Africa; one of their agents, Reis, came to Jamaica; and the result of his visit was that five Moravian families sailed for Africa. Nor was even this the best. Among Zorn's pupils in the training school, five offered for missionary service; these five, he fondly hoped, would soon become a thousand, and thus, he said, Africa would be evangelized by native preachers from Jamaica. With these bright dreams to cheer his soul, Jacob Zorn passed to his reward. His life, like that of most pioneers, was partly a success, and partly a failure. In his attempt to establish good day-schools he succeeded; in his attempt to establish Industrial Boarding Schools he failed; and the value of his strenuous life must be estimated, not so much by what he accomplished, but by the ideals he cherished.

4. JOHN HENRY BUCHNER, 1843—1857.

The next leader had still harder problems to solve. As the sun was setting one February evening, a vessel neared the mouth of the Black River; on the deck stood young John Henry Buchner, gazing with delight on the distant heights of Fairfield; and before he had been very long in Jamaica, John Henry Buchner discovered that, in spite of the numerous schools opened with the aid of the Government, most of the people were still the victims of superstition, ignorance and vice. Against each of these foes of progress Buchner fought a long fight.

(1) The first was a curious form of superstition. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Buchner lay ill of yellow fever at Irwin Hill; strange sounds floated in through his bedroom window; and when he asked the meaning thereof, he was told that the Myalmen were performing. The situation was alarming. For some reason, which no one could quite understand, the negroes in the Parish of St. James had long been known as far more excitable than those in other parts of the island. There the recent rebellion had been hatched; there the estates had been burned to the ground; and there, soon after Buchner's arrival, both the Obeahmen and the Myalmen drove the people frantic. Let us first look at the Obeahman or Obeah. He was really the priest of a very old heathen religion. According to the popular belief, each Obeah, like a Surinam sorcerer, possessed the power of causing diseases; for the sum of three or four shillings he would undertake to slay an enemy; and now the whole Parish of St. James lay under a reign of terror. His usual method, it is said, was to come to the enemy's house by night and leave a parcel at the door. In the morning the housewife discovered the parcel;

in the parcel lay a few feathers, or a little grave-mould; and then, within a few weeks, some one in the household died. Let us not regard this trouble as a light one. In spite of the fact that they were impostors, the Obeahs had a real hold on the people. Fear, said Buchner, was the real cause of death; fear paralysed both body and mind; fear even caused some to commit suicide. For many years this fear of the Obeahs increased the death-rate in Jamaica; even Moravian Church members were sometimes deceived; and once, as late as 1888, the Brethren, in the little village of Newton, discovered a terror-stricken victim.

The other evil, Myalism, was of a different nature. According to their own account, the Myalmen had been specially raised up by God to deal with Obeahism; and, just as the Obeahs claimed to be possessed by the devil, so the Myalmen claimed to be filled with the Holy Ghost. In outward form, therefore, the Myalmen, after a fashion, claimed to be Christians; in reality they were the Church's most dangerous enemies; and claiming to have received Divine revelations, they asserted that they, and they alone, could overcome, not only the cruel Obeahs, but every conceivable form of moral evil. It is not quite certain whether they were rogues or fanatics. According to Buchner many of them were sincere; Buchner was an excellent judge of character; and his opinion must be treated with respect. For some months, in order to attract attention, they behaved more like buffoons than inspired prophets, wearing a special costume, squatting in the hollows of trees, singing songs about Father Abraham, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and flying along the country roads like a swimmer doing the breast-stroke; and then, after some of them had been arrested for brawling in Church, and also for committing assault and

battery, the public gradually made the painful discovery that while these prophets claimed Divine revelation they were really both workers and teachers of iniquity. No one, said the Myalmen, can be truly religious unless he is immoral; and no man truly happy without a harem. At their evening services, which were held under a cotton tree, they generally opened with a hymn; then the rum bottle passed round; and then, like men bewitched by Comus, they indulged in "midnight shout and revelry, tipsy dance and jollity."

For a dozen years this poisonous teaching—the teaching that true Christianity encourages sin—wrought incredible damage in Jamaica. No teaching could be more ruinous to body and to soul; some of the Moravian converts themselves were affected; and the missionaries, Buchner declared, had ever to be on the watch.

(2) For these evils, in Buchner's opinion, the only remedy was more education. In opposition to the Brethren, the Myalmen always denounced Biblical study. "Let us not rely," they said, "on books; let us rely directly on the Holy Ghost; and thereby we shall see how misguided the missionaries are." The real cause of the trouble, therefore, was ignorance; ignorance led, not only to sin, but also to laziness; and laziness was causing economic ruin. In spite of Zorn's heroic efforts, most of the children were still uneducated. In the Moravian settlements he had succeeded; in the country districts he had failed; and Buchner endeavoured to remedy the defect by establishing "Country Schools." The scene in the country districts was appalling. The fields once teeming with sugar-canes were now overgrown with bushes; the gates were broken, the stores empty, and the living-houses dismantled; and the tenants, instead of tilling the soil, basked and

smoked tobacco in the sun. At first sight the situation seemed hopeless. For the children in the country districts the State, so far, had done nothing. Once more, however, Mrs. Hutchinson Scott came to the rescue. At her request the money was provided by the London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions; the Moravian Church in Jamaica found the headmasters; and the converts, by free labour, erected the buildings. By means of these Country Schools, therefore, Buchner and his colleagues fought with ignorance and sloth. In 1850, there were fifteen schools, with 573 scholars; in 1865, forty schools, with 2,886 scholars. In these schools nearly all the headmasters were natives. Some of them came from the Training School at Fairfield; others were simply trustworthy church members; and most of them were selected for their piety, rather than for their learning. The chief subject taught in the schools was the Bible; reading, writing and arithmetic were, of course, included; and taking the Scriptures as his text-book, the headmaster taught the children to be clean, to be polite, to be good, and to be happy. The daily morning scene is worth describing. At 9 a.m. the laughing children—some naked, and some in Osnaburg shirts—streamed to the schoolyard from the woods; and each child brought his dinner with him, either in a calabash or in a tin can. In the school-yard they now formed into line. As soon as the morning hymn had been sung, the children entered the school, set the tin cans in a row along the school wall, took their places and faced the teacher; and the teacher, beaming upon them, said: "Dear children, I want you all to love the Saviour." But the scene in the school was not always inspiring. For many years there was a great shortage of slates, books and ink-pots; and the master's salary was only

£10 a year. On the other hand there was cause for encouragement. In many cases the children themselves had helped in the building of the school; and this fact fostered a proper pride and a certain sense of school honour. In the playground all was energy and joy, and, far happier there than in their own homes, the children ate their yams and salt-fish, spun their windmills, cracked their whips, and stood on their heads.

(3) In another sense, also, Buchner was a good successor to Zorn. In spite of the fact that the Moravians were still few in number, he believed that they alone could save Jamaica from destruction. They alone, he contended, exercised the necessary discipline; they alone, in any real sense, combined religion and ethics; they, above all, had taught the people to teach themselves. In other words, they alone had the right to establish, not only a Native Ministry, but a fully organized Native Church. With that ideal before them, therefore, the Brethren now took three important steps:—

1841 (*a*) They opened a Normal School at Fairfield, with a theological department.

1850 (*b*) They enacted that at each station there should be a "Council," possessing certain governmental powers.

1854 (*c*) They arranged that suitable Church members should be employed as Scripture Readers and Assistant Preachers.

5. THE GREAT REVIVAL, 1858—1860.

The more closely we study the history of the Moravians in Jamaica the more we are compelled to recognise that the most important part of their work was the educational. By teaching the children the Bible they developed a high moral ideal; by means of their industrial schools they encouraged

initiative; and now, soon after his departure from Jamaica, Buchner heard that his work among the young was producing remarkable results. The first move was made at Fairfield. According to Sonderman, head of the Training School, the first "convert" was one of the students; then a few 1858
others formed a club for Bible reading; then all the students, of their own accord, not only formed a Juvenile Missionary Association, but even wrote a letter to the children in the Sunday School urging them to join; and the importance of the whole movement lay in the fact that for the first time young Jamaica Moravians were showing public spirit. In the past such work had been left to whites; henceforward natives must take a lead. In other congregations the same feature was noticed. At New Carmel the young men, without a hint from the missionary, organized their own prayer meeting; at Woodlands young women rebuked sinners on the high-road; and at Fulneck, under the influence of Goodwin North—a young man from Heckmondwike, in Yorkshire—the children became the leaders in a revival. By the young the Great Revival was started; by the young, chiefly, it was maintained throughout. Let us try to understand its real nature. For some months this memorable revival, which soon affected old and young alike, was disfigured by what the critic may call excesses; and yet, on the other hand, we must remember that those excesses were no worse than those which occurred in England during the Evangelical Revival. In outward form there was sometimes a slight difference; in reality the main features were the same; and nearly every incident that happened in Jamaica might be paralleled by something similar in England. In most cases, just as in England, the chief symptom was some bodily convulsion. At

Fulneck the convicted sinners screamed, gnashed, tore their clothes, tried to throw themselves down from the gallery, and even, in some mysterious cases, were struck deaf and dumb. At Clifton a woman refused food, smashed the wattled walls of her hut, and raged so furiously that her neighbours had to hold her with ropes. At Nahoe a young woman snapped like a dog, flung chains and pots at her neighbours' heads, and, screaming "The devil! the devil!" jumped out of the window. At Fairfield men, convulsed with agony, rolled in the open air under the fig-tree. At New Hope men had twitchings in the face and lay speechless for a fortnight. At Lititz the very children writhed on the floor. In some cases, however, the mind was more affected than the body. Some lay unconscious for several days; others had remarkable visions and saw signs in the clouds; and others, convinced that the Judgment Day had come, declared that they saw Christ in the sky and the souls of the damned in hell.

We must not regard all this as mere excitement. For nearly all these physical manifestations there was a genuine spiritual cause; that cause, in most cases, was not so much a fear of hell, but rather a profound sense of sin; and when the missionaries inquired into the matter they discovered that many of the most respected Church members, probably misled by Myalmen, had, while outwardly pious, been guilty of secret sin. In some cases good Church members had pleaded poverty, while all the time they had been saving money; in other cases the sins confessed were still more serious; and now men had physical convulsions simply because their consciences gave them no peace. For this reason, therefore, the Great Revival must be described as thoroughly genuine, and many of the converts proved their

sincerity by making sacrifices. At Ipswich a converted fiddler smashed his fiddle and tambourines; most of the converts now became teetotallers; and the young women burned their fine dresses and scattered their rings and bracelets on the Church floor. "We earned these things by sin," they said, "and we cannot bear the sight of them." Nor were decency and morality the only results of the Revival. For some months there was a great demand for Bibles and Hymn-books; "The Pilgrim's Progress" became a popular book; defaulters paid their Church dues; and many contributed to the Bible Society and to Foreign Missions.

6. TWO MODERN PROBLEMS.

The first is the great problem of the Native Ministry. During the next forty or fifty years the Moravians were engaged, not so much in Church extension, but rather in consolidation; only seven new stations—Mizpah (1866), Dober (1882), Broadleaf (1885), Carisbrook (1885), Patrick Town (1891), Kingston (1893), and Moravia (1894)—were founded; and this slowness in advance was due, not to any decline in zeal, but to the lack of men and means. For the shortage of men the only and obvious remedy was the formation of a Native Ministry. But the experience of the Moravians was not encouraging. In 1876 they opened at Fairfield a Theological College; in 1888 that institution was closed; and the reason given for this last reactionary measure was that while some of the candidates had been ordained, and became acceptable preachers, they had not yet, in the judgment of the other missionaries, attained that stability of character required in the minister of a congregation.

The other problem may be called the Housing Problem. For the long period of twenty-five years, 1870–95

one prominent Moravian Missionary, a Swiss, named Heinrich Walder, made a systematic endeavour to solve this problem; thereby he became the negroes' best friend; and at the close of his career the people expressed their gratitude in a testimonial. The situation may be briefly explained. In Jamaica the housing problem was closely connected with the system of land tenure. At the time when Walder commenced his labours the negroes in the country districts were divided into three classes. At the top of the scale, very few in number, were freeholders, living in roomy houses; next came tenants, in small cottages, and liable to be turned out by their landlords; and last, the plantation labourers, packed into miserable shanties, and earning perhaps, in the busy season, about 1s. 6d. a day. But this division was moral as well as economic. According to the size of the house he occupied the moral character of the tenant varied. The freeholders had a high sense of self-respect; the cottagers were moderately good; and the labourers were apt to be degraded. The conclusion was obvious. The more freeholders there were in Jamaica the higher the people would rise in moral character. For this reason, therefore, Walder both induced and helped many of the converts to become freeholders. His name became a household word in Jamaica; other missionaries followed his example; and one declared, a few years ago, that in the freeholder lay the hope of the future.†

By these various methods, therefore, the Moravians endeavoured to make Jamaica a land of hope and glory. In his *English in the West Indies*, J. A. Froude, the historian, who, in 1887, paid a short visit to the island, asserted that the Moravians had more

†For a brief sketch of Walder's life, see "Moravian Missions," 1903, pp. 36-8.

influence over the natives than either Churchmen or Nonconformists; they, he declared, really did the most good;† and, if that statement may be accepted as correct, the explanation will be found in the fact that, while the Moravians have preached the same Gospel as their colleagues, they have always exercised a stricter discipline, demanded and enforced a high ethical standard, paid closer attention to the individual, studied the people's social requirements, and laid great stress on education.

† "The English in the West Indies," pp. 232-3: "Of the Moravians I heard on all sides the warmest praise. They, above all the religious bodies in the island, are admitted to have a practical power for good over the limited number of people which belong to them. But the Moravians are but a few. They do not rush to make converts in the highways and hedges." See also p. 250, where Froude describes an interesting interview between himself and a Moravian missionary. Among other things, Froude remarks that while the missionary was not in the least enthusiastic about his "poor black sheep" (the phrase is Froude's), he held that the Jamaica labourers were no worse than the English, and that, if they were paid better wages, they would probably be much more industrious.

Chapter II.

THE WEST INDIES—EASTERN PROVINCE, 1800—1914.

As all the islands in the West Indies are inhabited by the same race, negroes—exhibiting, though with small variations, the same general national characteristics—we are practically justified in assuming that in each island the Moravian missionaries had the same problems to solve; in each island they opened day schools, trained evangelists, and founded temperance and Bible-reading Societies; and, therefore, all we need to do in this chapter is to take each island of the Lesser Antilles in turn and note any distinguishing features of interest. In the broad sense, each island was simply Jamaica repeated; in another sense, each had its own distinguishing feature.

1. St. Thomas. In this island the distinguishing feature was a curious change in the population, brought about by the Danish Act of Emancipation (1846). Before emancipation most of the slaves lived on the country plantations; after it they swarmed to Tappus and turned the little village into the town of St. Thomas. Before emancipation the most important congregations were New Herrnhut and Niesky; after it the most important has been St. Thomas; and thus the Moravians now minister, not only to men in country districts, but also to citizens in a busy city. One fact to the credit of the Brethren should be emphasised. In 1840, six years before emancipation, the Danish Government passed an Act that all Moravian slaves should be free; and thereby the Government showed how highly Moravian work was valued.

2. ST. JOHN. In this island emancipation caused a still more radical change. Instead of seeking employment in the towns, most of the liberated slaves fled from the island altogether; those who remained, about nine hundred, settled down on the sea coast; and the missionary who ministers to their needs is such an all-round man that the people call him the "Father of St. John." With his medicine chest attached to his girdle, he visits every cottage, holds services at Emmaus and Bethany, and is personally known to every negro on the island.

3. ST. CROIX. In this island emancipation had the very opposite effect. Instead of deserting the old plantations, the negroes made good bargains with their past owners, and agreed to work for wages; the plantations flourished more than ever; and the population rose to 20,000. For this reason, therefore, St. Croix became the most prosperous island in the Danish West Indies; each of the three Moravian stations—Friedensfeld, Friedensthal, and Friedensberg—became a centre of Christian activity; and the Church members drove in fine style to Church, and gave a tenth of their income to Church Funds. The chief danger in St. Croix was drink. For many years rum was only threepence a bottle; many of the baser sort succumbed; and wife-beating and gambling became very common.

4. ST. KITTS. St. Kitts is the island of disasters. In 1836 there was a terrible earthquake; in 1880 there was a flood; in the next decade there was great poverty, caused by the fall in the price of sugar; and in 1896 there were so many riots that the Government had to call out the military. Nevertheless, the Moravian Mission prospered; three new stations—Bethesda (1821), Bethel (1832), Estridge (1845)—were founded; Friendly Societies and

Missionary Unions flourished; and most of the members, in spite of poverty, proved steady and loyal.

5. ANTIGUA. Antigua became the pride of the Moravian Church. For many years after the death of "Massa Brown," Antigua was commonly regarded, from the moral and spiritual point of view, as the finest island in the British West Indies; at the special request of the Government, the Brethren built Newfield (1817), followed five years later by Cedar Hall; and so high was the character attained by the 15,000 negroes under the Brethren's care, that when the First Emancipation Act was passed, the Government inserted a special clause declaring that, while in all the other islands the slaves must first serve a period of apprenticeship, in Antigua they should receive their full liberty at once. Never did the Moravian Church receive a higher compliment; and never was the confidence of the Government more fully justified. But the greatest glories of Antigua were still to come. During the next twenty years three more stations were founded, Lebanon (1838), Gracefield (1840), and Greenbay (1849). In 1855, by founding a Female Teachers' Seminary, the Brethren supplied female teachers for the day schools; in 1856, J. Buckley became the first ordained native minister; in 1890 the Governor of Antigua was so impressed by the Brethren's work that he asked them to open a mission in Dominica; and in 1900 the Mission Board opened a Theological College at Buxton Grove. In Jamaica the attempt to establish a native ministry had failed; in Antigua it was much more successful. For this high moral standard in Antigua much of the credit must be given to a Yorkshireman, Bishop Westerby (1838-86). For many years he was the most important man in the island. He introduced organs

into every Moravian Church; wrote a treatise on hurricanes; compiled the Communion Liturgy used in the West Indies; was Chairman of the Antigua Board of Education, of the Poor Law Board, and of the Board of Guardians; and, altogether, did so much to uplift the people that, on his retirement, they asked the Governor to give him a pension. At his funeral Anglican Clergymen helped to carry the coffin, and afterwards the people erected a memorial fountain to his memory.†

6. BARBADOS. The distinguishing feature of Barbados will be found in the character of the people. For some reason—possibly the presence of an Irish element—both the whites and the negroes of Barbados are said to be far more lively and talkative than those in the other islands; and many Barbadians pride themselves on their intellectual superiority. But this feature was not always an advantage. As the Moravians took no part in the great negro rebellion in 1816, most of the planters now befriended the Mission; thus encouraged, the Brethren founded new stations at Mt. Tabor (1826), Bridgetown (1836), and Clifton Hill (1841); and yet, on the whole, the missionaries found the people hard to reach. In disposition the people were genial and smart; in reliability of character they were often disappointing. For this reason, therefore, progress in Barbados was slow. The island also suffered from several disasters. In 1819 and 1831 there were terrible hurricanes; in 1854 the cholera carried off one-seventh of the population; and two destructive fires occurred in Bridgetown.

7. TOBAGO. On this small island the Moravian missionary has long been the next most important

†For a sketch of Westerby, see "Moravian Missions," August, 1903.

man to the Governor. At the request of a pious planter, Montgomery was founded (1827); two more stations, Moriah (1848) and Bethesda (1878), followed; and Sir Hugh Clifford, after visiting the island, declared that of all the religious bodies the Moravians achieved the most satisfactory results.† By his patient labours, he said, T. L. Clemens taught the young people self-respect.

8. TRINIDAD. For some years Trinidad had been the most prosperous island in the West Indies.
1890 Port of Spain was now a great business centre; one hundred and twenty million barrels of cocoa were exported; and recently seven hundred Moravians had found work on the island, partly on the docks and partly on country estates; and now some Moravian natives at St. Madeleine asked to have a minister. For fifteen years (1890-1905) the chief worker in Trinidad was Marc Richard, a Swiss; stations were founded at Rosehill (near Port of Spain), Chaguanas, Manantial, Belmont, Manzanilla, L'Anse Noir, and Matelot; and both Richard and his successors discovered that in no island was Moravian work more needed. In Port of Spain many of the business men were morally corrupt, and the missionary's only staunch friends were a few Free Church Ministers. In Manantial, heathen Chinese conducted a rum-shop; in some of the villages there were many Mahometans; and many of the natives were still addicted to old African vices and superstitions. With the aid, however, of his native converts, Marc Richard soon accomplished wonders; Native Helpers, Native Catechists, Native Committee Men, and Native Teachers rendered faithful assistance; and A. B. Hutton, Richard's successor, found his people ready

†See Blackwood's Magazine, "Time and Tobago," September, 1905, pp. 321-2.

to work, fond of good music, and interested in Biblical instruction.

9. SAN DOMINGO.—For the benefit of Moravian converts who had gone to San Domingo in search of work, a native minister, J. A. D. Bloice, was appointed (1907); San Pedro became the headquarters; and the number of members soon exceeded one thousand. 1907

Chapter III.

GREENLAND, 1800—1900.

For one hundred years the Moravians in Greenland plodded on so quietly with their work that, although they wrote many letters home, they had rarely anything very exciting to tell. Sometimes the weather was severe, and sometimes mild; sometimes the Greenlanders caught plenty of seals, and sometimes they were nearly starving; sometimes they increased and multiplied, and sometimes they were slaughtered by an epidemic; sometimes the Brethren had safe voyages, and sometimes they were wrecked and nearly drowned; and thus the same tale of ups and downs was told from year to year. As the Brethren's field of labour was limited, they had not much chance of extension. For some years they remained contented with the three old eighteenth century stations, New Herrnhut, Lichtenfels, and Lichtenau; then, at intervals, they founded Frederiksdal in the south (1824), Umanak to the north (1861), and Igdlorpait (1864) near Lichtenau; and thus, eventually, the Brethren commanded the whole region from Godhaab to Cape Farewell. In accordance with the law laid down by Government, the Greenlanders lived, not only in the Brethren's settlements, but at many fishing places along the coast; and, therefore, in connexion with each station there were several out-preaching places. The Brethren's parish was about 300 miles long; and about 4,000 people were under their charge.

At the request of certain friends in Dundee, Matthew Warnow (1857) visited Cumberland Inlet, but reported that work up there was out of the question; and later, with a similar result, John

Brodbeck (1881) visited the East Coast of Greenland. We note some points of interest.

1. If a prize were offered for producing veterans, Greenland would be an easy winner. The Founder of the Mission, Matthew Stach, served thirty-eight years (1733-71); his colleague, Frederick Böhnisch, twenty-nine years (1733-63); John Sörensen, forty-seven years (1746-93); John Gorke, forty-three years (1782-1825); John Grillich, forty-eight years (1786-1834); Fliegel, forty-one years (1775-1816); and J. Müller, forty-one years (1813-54). But the most distinguished veterans of all were the Becks. The first, John Beck, was in Greenland forty-two years (1736-1777), his son, John Jacob, fifty-two years (1770-1822), and altogether there were Becks in the service for more than one hundred and fifty years. The self-denial of the Brethren was stupendous. In spite of improvements in navigation, the voyage to Greenland was always dangerous, and four missionaries—Christian Heinze, John R. Walder, John F. Kranich, and Sophia Königseer—perished at sea. The stations were lonely and far removed from each other; and thus, far away from books, from doctors, and from modern scientific inventions, the Brethren toiled without a murmur, among a dirty and stupid people. In summer they tilled their gardens, mended houses, and explored the coast; in winter, they kept many meetings for young and old; and thus, as Cowper said:—

> Fired with a zeal peculiar they defy
> The rage and rigour of a polar sky,
> And plant successfully sweet Sharon's Rose
> On icy plains and in eternal snows.

2. Again, several Brethren did literary work. At the time when Kayarnak was converted, John Beck had begun translating the Gospels. John

Kleinschmidt, the elder, continued his work, and finished the whole New Testament; and in 1828 this translation was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. At various times other Brethren produced a Manual of Christian Doctrine, a Hymn Book, a Harmony of the Gospels, translations from the German "Nachrichten," and a Reader's Primer. But, perhaps, the best Greenland scholar was Samuel Kleinschmidt. He prepared a Greenland Grammar and Dictionary, wrote, in Eskimo, a Universal History, a Geography, and a History of Missions, and aided by the Danish chaplain, Jaergenson, translated most of the Old Testament.

3. In order to reach the outlying districts, the Brethren, of course, had largely to rely on natives. For some years, both at New Herrnhut (1850-84), and at Lichtenau (1860-84), they made a systematic attempt to train Native Helpers. But the students never made any striking progress. The course lasted six years. Two hours a day the student gave to his books; the rest of the day he was hunting or fishing; and at the end of his training he received a rifle. He had, of course, though licensed to preach, to earn his own living with his hands. If he merely preached he received no salary at all; if he taught in the Day School, he received six rix-dollars a year. The success of the system was partial. In spite of all the Brethren's efforts, not a single student was found fit for ordination. Some caused scandal by committing sins of the flesh; and only two, Louis at New Herrnhut, and Stephen at Lichtenfels, could be left, even for a short time, in charge of a station. The most famous Native Helper was Stephen. For two years he was left in charge of Lichtenfels (1892-4); and there he was both a stern teacher and a kind friend. With the zeal of a temperance orator, he rebuked the people

for drinking too much coffee; and when the influenza came, he hobbled on his gouty toes from hut to hut, nursing the patients, cooking their meals, and reading the Bible to them. But Stephen died in his early prime, and the Brethren never looked upon his like again. As long as the Greenlanders had to work so hard there was no chance of forming a Native Ministry. They had not the intellectual ability; they had not the time; and they had not the character; and, therefore, finally, the Brethren abandoned the attempt.

4. Another stern fight was the fight with poverty. In this work the Brethren were aided by the Danish Government. In order to encourage the people to be thrifty, the Government even offered prizes to all who had saved up for the winter. For keeping his kayak the man received a shilling; for kayak and gun, a little more; for kayak, gun, and provisions, a little more still. But, in spite of these lessons, the people were as thriftless as ever. Instead of saving up for the winter, they either devoured the fish they had caught, or sold it for coffee and tobacco, and then, when the winter storms began, the regular question in the Mission House was, "I wonder how our people will fare to-day."

As they asked the question there would come a knock at the door, and there stood a woe-begone family man.

"Well, what is it?" said the missionary.

"We have nothing in the house to eat. Can you let us have some dried herrings?"

"But surely," said the missionary, "you have some laid up for the winter."

"No, not a single fish."

"But that is very careless of you."

"If you loved me," whined the hungry beggar, "you would never talk like that. Ah! you don't practise what you preach."

At such crises the missionary shewed both good temper and sense. For every herring now provided he arranged that the beggar should do so much work the following spring, and the agreement was duly entered into a book. But the Greenlanders hated these rules. According to them, Europe was a land of gold, and the missionary a millionaire; and the man they loved most was not the man who taught them self-help, but the man who gave them most to eat. If the missionary promised to give out bread, he could always have a full Church. At best the Greenlanders were only grown-up children. At the Centenary celebrations, for example, each man received a knife, each boy a fish-hook, and each woman and girl some needles and pins; and home they trudged that night with beaming faces. The more they received the more pleased they were; and the more they were asked to give the more they rebelled. For school materials—slates, pencils and books—the fee was one penny a session, and the mothers thought this price exorbitant. Above all, the people objected when told that they should help to support the Mission; and even at the close of the nineteenth century they thought, with very few exceptions, that they should be paid for coming to Church.

"Ah!" said the mothers, "the old missionaries were the best. Instead of asking for subscriptions, they had something to give us."

5. In education the Greenlanders were equally slow. As the boys had to go hunting in summer, the schools were open in winter only. As the storm raged outside, the boys and girls huddled round the cosy stove; and anon, the boys, glancing out of the window, watched some young man trying to paddle his kayak.

At the stations the teacher was generally one of the missionaries; at the out-stations one of the

Native Helpers. But neither missionaries nor helpers forced the process. As long as the Greenland climate remained so severe, the chief duty of a boy was to manage a kayak, and the chief duty of a girl was to help her mother; and neither boys nor girls were set hard tasks. They sang a hymn, read aloud from a primer; studied Bible pictures, and coveted the Jews' red and blue dresses; and wrote on slates with pencils wrapped in bright paper. As these pencils were given out the greatest excitement prevailed; and while the pupil who obtained the bright one rejoiced, the one who obtained the dullest wept. Sometimes the boys learned a little arithmetic, and the girls sewing and knitting. The arithmetic had always a practical purpose: "If a man can eat six dried herrings a day," said the missionary, "how many herrings should he save up to last the six winter months?"; and sometimes, it is said, a bright boy solved the problem. With such small results the missionaries had to be content. As soon as a boy could manage a kayak he was given one by the Government; his school-days then ended, and off he paddled after seals; and even if he attended a night-school, he was too sleepy to listen.

"We must not expect too much knowledge," said a missionary; "if they know their Bibles and Christian doctrine, let us be content." At the close of the century there were 24 schools, with 391 pupils.

6. In physical health the Greenlanders deteriorated. According to one missionary, this change was chiefly due to the fact that while in former years they lived on seals, in later years they lived on herrings; and, therefore, they had now less fat, less exercise, and less courage. In olden days every man could manage a kayak; in modern times only one in ten. In olden days they dressed

in seal-skin, but now in European cloth; in olden days they drank chiefly water, but now strong coffee; and having less power to resist disease, they fell before fearful epidemics. At the same time the Greenlanders had less skill on the sea; each year large numbers were drowned; and, according to Samuel Kleinschmidt, at least half the able-bodied men died sudden accidental deaths. For these reasons, therefore, the Greenlanders were dying out. In 1857 there were 1,965 converts; in 1899, only 870.

7. In morals, however, the Greenlanders decidedly improved. As no alcoholic drinks were allowed in the country, they could not possibly be topers; and although they are said to have drunk coffee to excess, they never became confirmed drunkards. Sometimes they smoked too much and were prone to be lazy. "If I only have tobacco," said one pleasure lover, "I am content, and need no conversion." At the close of the century, adultery was still fairly common, robbery an occasional scandal, and murder almost unknown; and although the poor folk were still conceited, and materialistic in their desires, they had learned to be kind to each other, to feed the hungry, and to bear trouble with Christian patience.

8. At last the Brethren were faced by a serious problem. For over one hundred and sixty years the Brethren had toiled in this dreary "land of desolation"; and as the whole west coast of Greenland was now nominally Christian, some Moravians held that the time had come to retire from Greenland and hand the converts over to the Danish Church. In order, if possible, to come to a wise decision, the Mission Board first sent Otto Padel to Copenhagen to negotiate both with

the Danish Government and the Danish Church, and then, having gathered information in abundance, they submitted the issue to the General Synod. The debate was thorough. On the one side was sentiment; on the other common sense; and the resolution passed was that "The work in Greenland 1899
be transferred to the Danish State Church." For this decision the following reasons were given :—

(1) The work was begun as an aid to the Danish Church, and that aid was no longer needed.

(2) The Brethren, who worked among pure Natives, had failed to establish a Native Ministry; the Danes, who had worked among half-breeds, had succeeded, and these men could perform the long journeys far more quickly than the Brethren.

(3) The Mission was costly, and the Brethren needed the money for new work.

(4) The converts might safely be left to Danish Chaplains, now devoted to the work.

(5) The Danish Government welcomed the change. At present, they said, there was a slight discord between the Moravian and Danish converts, and the idea was that all should belong to one Church.

Next year the resolution took effect. In Green- 1900
land the news excited mingled feelings. At some of the stations a few base wretches rejoiced, thinking that under the Danish Church they would have more liberty to sin. But most of the people were sorry and wept sore. At Umanak the scene was heart-breaking. As the Brethren's boat pushed off from the shore, the people, standing at the water's edge, tried to strike up a chorale; but, alas! their voices were choked in sobs and the trombones gave no

sound. At Igdlorpait the people believed that they themselves were to blame.

"It's a judgment on us for our disobedience," said Helper F. Carolus.

"It's worse than that," said Maurice. "It's the end of the world."

The most striking farewell service was at Lichtenau. As the Church would hold only 400 the service had to be held in the open air; eight hundred Greenlanders sat on the grass, and this was the largest gathering ever known in Greenland. The missionary, Bohlmann, took a photograph of the scene. Among those present was the new Danish Minister, Baele. The old order was changing; the new was about to begin; and after Reigel, the President, had preached the farewell sermon, young Baele, in thrilling tones, informed the crowd that, although there was a change of management, he would preach the same Christ, the same faith, and the same Father in Heaven. At the close of the service there was a United Communion, and then the Helpers, in a hymn composed by one of themselves, sang farewell to their parting, and welcome to their coming, friends.

At last, when all farewell services were over, the Moravian missionaries, with wives and children,
Sept. 11th were gathered in the starlit harbour of Julienhaab. As the Brethren put off in boats to board the *Nordlyset*, the Greenlanders standing on the shore cried out, "Tread your path in peace." For a week, on account of bad weather, the *Nordlyset* rode at anchor, and on Sunday, the Greenlanders, ascending a hill, played chorales on their trombones.

Sept. 18th On Tuesday the wind blew fair; the anchor was weighed; and slowly the *Nordlyset* began to move. Around the great ship was a fleet of Greenland boats; in one sat the faithful band; and once again across the waters came the grand solemn sound of the

trombones. As the music swelled the whole crew paused to listen, and the eyes of the Moravian Brethren filled with tears. Along the coast the ship crept slowly southward. A few days later Cape Farewell was passed, and the story of Moravian Missions in Greenland had closed.

Chapter IV.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 1808—1901.

As David Zeisberger lay on his death-bed at Goshen, the sad thought oppressed his heroic soul that, after more than sixty years of toil, only three Christian Indian stations remained; and now on these three stations—Goshen in Ohio, Fairfield on the Thames in Canada, and Springplace in Georgia—his successors concentrated their attention. At each place they endeavoured to save a dying race; at each place they encountered insuperable difficulties; and at each place, therefore, they fought a losing battle.

1. Goshen. In this case the enemy was drink. Formerly there had existed a law, passed at Zeisberger's request, that no whisky should be sold to the Indians in Ohio; just before his death, however, that law was repealed, and so many of the converts took to drink that in 1823 the station was closed. Only a few sober Indians remained, and these few were now transferred to Fairfield in Canada.

1813 2. Fairfield.—During the war between England and America this station was destroyed; soon afterwards, it was rebuilt and called "New Fairfield"; and the Brethren's success at this new station was largely due to the efficient help rendered by the British Government. Nowhere had the Delaware Indians a better opportunity to prosper. New Fairfield became a model settlement; a famous sorcerer, Onin, was converted; and the Indians, for the time being, became good Christian citizens. No white trader was allowed to encroach on the premises. Each family had at least about forty

acres of good land; each family also received an annual government grant of £2 10s.; and, if the farmer was both industrious and thrifty, he could become a freeholder. For these privileges the Indians had to pay no taxes. In the eyes of the law the Indians were minors, and could not, therefore, be arrested for debt. On the other hand, they were considered morally responsible; for any offences against the law they, like other criminals, might be punished; and the missionary, acting as Government Commissioner, saw that the laws were enforced. At the special request of the converts, the British Government once more forbade the sale of spirits to Indians (1836); and further, at the Brethren's request, the annual government grant was made, not as formerly, in money, but in agricultural implements. Thus were the Indians at New Fairfield shielded from temptation. For a while these measures proved successful. Most of the Indians were now total abstainers; some of them became prosperous farmers; and the missionary could often hear them singing hymns in the cornfields.

Meanwhile, however, beneath the surface, a deadly force was at work. In the eighteenth century Spangenberg had complained that the Indian, by nature, was as fickle as an April day; now his successors had the same experience; and the sad fact has to be recorded that, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Indians at New Fairfield steadily degenerated in character. According to one Moravian minister, there was a fundamental difference between the Negro and the Indian. The former was like a child with a hopeful future; the latter was like an old man with a softening brain. In all probability, the cause of the trouble was drink; drink had ruined the Delawares for generations; drink had enfeebled

both the mind and the body; and now, it appears, the sins of the father were being visited upon the children. At all events, whatever the cause, the Indians became both ungrateful and disobedient.
1837 Some emigrated, and founded Westfield, in Kansas; some, though members of a Temperance Society, drank in secret; some denounced the missionary as a tyrant, and claimed that the land they rented was their own; and some, disgusted with the Moravians' stern system of discipline, deserted to the Methodists. In vain one missionary, Adolphus Hartmann, opened an Orphan Home; the children's relatives compelled him to close it. The last straw was sectarian controversy. By the close of the nineteenth century three churches—Anglican, Methodist, and Moravian—competed with each other at New Fairfield; the Indians, always fond of discussion, now made invidious comparisons; and the Brethren ended the dispute by handing over their converts to the Methodists.

3. GEORGIA. For the absolute failure of the Mission in Georgia the chief blame rests on the Georgia Government. For a few years the Mission flourished; both at Springplace and at Oochgelmy boarding-schools for Indian boys were opened; and then, in 1831, the Government, without the slightest provocation, not only expelled the Moravian missionaries from Springplace, but also robbed the Cherokees of their land, instituted a State lottery, and handed over the land to fortunate winners. For a dozen years the Cherokees wandered from State to State, seeking rest and finding none; and then, at last, they found a new home (1843) in Indian territory. There the Brethren endeavoured to revive the cause; and two new stations, New Springplace and Woodmount, were founded (1873).

For the following reasons, however, this last enterprise ended in failure :—

(*a*) *The System of Land Tenure.* The American system of land tenure was far inferior to the British. In Canada the land was leased direct to individuals or families ; in Indian Territory it was leased to whole tribes ; and the individual, being only a sub-tenant, had no real security of tenure. At any moment, some rival, by offering a higher rent, or by means of some backstairs influence, might dispossess him of his property. For this reason the Cherokee farmer could take little interest in his farm ; frequently he sublet it to a white ; and thus, while in theory he was a farmer, in reality he became an idle vagabond.

(*b*) *The Cherokee Language.* Among the Cherokees Zeisberger's books were useless. No one had written a Cherokee Dictionary or Grammar ; the Cherokee language was exceptionally difficult ; and no missionary could learn it unless he began in his childhood. On Sundays, therefore, the scene at Church was chaotic. The missionary spoke in English ; a Cherokee interpreted ; and often the interpreter was drunk.

(*c*) *Tobacco and Whisky.* With a few exceptions the Cherokees smoked to excess ; even at Church both men and women sat chewing tobacco ; and the women were sometimes lighting their pipes as the minister entered. The drink evil was still more deadly. In theory, as at New Fairfield, the sale of spirits to Indians was forbidden ; in fact, the Indians drank in secret.

For all these reasons, therefore, the Brethren found it impossible to gather a settled congregation. In 1895 both stations were taken over by the Bethlehem Home Missionary Society ; thereby they became incorporated with the North American Province of the Moravian Church ; and a few faithful Cherokees still attended the services.

Chapter V.

SURINAM, 1800—1914.

During the last forty or fifty years the Dutch Colony of Surinam has been by far the strongest province in the whole Moravian Mission Field; more than half the Christians in the country belong to the Moravian Church; and so efficiently has the work been organized, and so deep has been the missionaries' influence over the lives of the natives, that Paramaribo, the capital, might be described as the most Christian city in the world. In the year 1909 a religious census of Surinam was taken; and, not counting the unknown numbers of heathen, who still swarm in the southern woods and jungles, the official result was as follows:—Moravians, 27,159; Roman Catholics, 5,529; Dutch Reformed Church, 505; Anglicans, 884; Lutherans, 3,022; Hindus, 12,467; Jews, 1,094; Mahometans, 8,418. Let us now examine:—(1) The Old Mission, or Paramaribo and its environs. (2) The new Mission, or the Bush Negroes. (3) The Coolies and other New-comers. (4) The New Order.

1. The Old Mission, or Paramaribo and Its Environs.

(*a*) *Business.* The first point to notice is geographical. For over one hundred and fifty years—I cannot say exactly how long—the Moravian Church has held possession, at the south end of Paramaribo, of a goodly little tract of land known as the "Moravian Compound"; the business part of this compound is called the Winkel; and there, in 1765, a Moravian firm, known still as J. Kersten & Co., established, for the benefit of the Mission, such a flourishing business concern that, until quite recently,

trade and religion went hand in hand. For taking that step the Church must not be called worldly. In the eighteenth century no Moravian missionary received any salary for his services. In every case his first duty was to earn his living. For many years, therefore, the rule existed that every Surinam missionary must serve his time in the Winkel; there he toiled the greater part of the day, keeping books and serving customers; and then, when that little flower, the "Fo Joeroe," closed her petals—*i.e.*, at about 4 p.m.—he closed the shop, sipped his coffee, set out to visit his flock, and conducted week-night meetings. In due time this business ministered to nearly all the physical and mental needs, not only of the missionaries, but also of their converts. For some years the only articles sold were such simple household commodities as linen, wool, buck-skin, hats, combs, brushes, slates, pencils, and mouse-traps; then, in due course, the Brethren opened a bakehouse, a carpenter's shop, a smithy, a dairy, and a plant for manufacturing such articles as ploughs, locks, clocks, pumps, and petroleum cookers; and finally, through their printing press, the Brethren published Bible Stories, New Testaments, Hymn Books, Text Books, Catechisms, Law Books, Magazines, and School Books in thousands. Thus did the Moravian missionaries, by means of their industry, solve the financial problem, find employment for many of their converts, improve the economical status of the colony, and raise the natives to a high state of intellectual efficiency. In connexion with this business firm, country branches were established; by means of these country branches building material was supplied for purposes of Church extension; and so successful was the whole system that, till the year 1876, the Surinam Mission was financially independent.

(*b*) *Supervision.* But now comes the most wonderful part of the story. In spite of their strenuous business engagements, the Moravian missionaries in Paramaribo managed to keep in personal touch with all the members of their flock. In the city parishes they had 8,000 members; others dwelt in the suburbs of Rust en Vrede (1882), Combé (1884), and Wanica (1886); and preaching-places were also opened on very many plantations. And yet all the 14,000 members were personally known to the missionaries. The mode of supervision was remarkable. In the attic above the central church in Paramaribo, which held about 2,000, there was an office called the "Great Room" or "Bigi-Kamira"; in that office one missionary, acting as General Registrar, kept a number of differently-coloured roll-books; in those roll-books all the names of all the communicants, all the adherents, and all the children were entered; and the simple and ingenious system was that each Moravian in Paramaribo also possessed a ticket corresponding in colour to that of the roll-book in which his name was entered. In the orange book, *e.g.*, were the names of new-comers; in the dark green the men from A to J; and in the grass-green, the women from A to D. By means of this ticket system, the missionaries supervised all their members. Each Communicant showed his ticket before he came to Communion; each candidate showed his ticket at the Baptism Class; each schoolboy showed his ticket at the school door; and the only meetings for which no tickets were required were those set apart for public worship. In spite, however, of this system of discipline—or rather, perhaps, on account of it—the Moravian missionaries in Paramaribo were popular. On Sundays all four churches were generally crowded; on special occasions, such as Easter and Christmas,

one half of the congregation listened through the open windows; and sometimes, at the annual Mission Festivals, the proceedings lasted three hours.

(*c*) *Social Work.* We come here to a curious feature of the negro character. By nature the Surinam Negro was a clubman rather than a domestic man. Paramaribo is a city of clubs. In his club the Negro was perfectly happy; in his own home he was ill at ease; and the Brethren, recognising the fact, and desiring to keep him from the public-house, established a large number of Christian clubs. For the poor there was a "Poor's Society," founded in 1847 by some Negro women; for all concerned a Sick Club, possessing its own small Hospital; for the employees of Kersten & Co., an Insurance Society; for the youths and maidens, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations; for those so disposed, Prayer Unions and Singing Clubs; and, for the boys, a Reading Society, known as "Timothy." By means of these organizations the Brethren fought the dram-shop, the gambling-den, and the picture-house; most of the clubs raised money for charitable and religious purposes; and thus, in Paramaribo, the club became almost as important as the Church.

(*d*) *Self-Help.* In two ways the Brethren endeavoured to teach the people to help themselves. First, the firm of Kersten & Co. had a special building scheme whereby each employee might become a freeholder. In principle this scheme was similar to the Wyndham Act in Ireland. The firm bought the house for the employee; the employee paid off the price in instalments; and thus, in time, he had his house free of rent. Secondly, with the aid of the Government, the Brethren looked after orphans; one missionary was known

as the Orphan's Missionary, and his business was to see that each orphan had a good foster-parent. For looking after the child the foster-parent received 8s. 6d. a week; part of this sum was supplied by the Government; and the missionary systematically visited the house.

(*e*) *Education.* On this topic there was some difference of opinion between the Government and the missionaries. The question in dispute was the language question. For reasons of a patriotic nature the Government insisted that no school should receive State-aid unless the teachers used and taught the Dutch language; with this condition the missionaries, who spoke Negro-English, could not at first comply; and the consequence was that though the Brethren imported, at very great expense, a few headmasters from Holland, they could never make their schools a success like those in the West Indies.

(*f*) *Visitation.* In order to keep in close touch with the people the Paramaribo missionaries laid great stress on house-to-house visitation. Each evening, for two or three hours, they threaded the sandy streets, and heard strange tales in little back rooms. In one, they met a crowd of young patriots puffing at their cigarettes and shouting "Surinam for the Surinamers;" in another a Chinaman was lighting his opium pipe at a lamp; in another lay a leper thanking God for His mercies, or a sinful woman dying of consumption, and asking the Lord to forgive her; in another an aged saint reading her illustrated book of Bible stories.

(*g*) *The Bethesda Leper Home.* For the benefit of all the lepers in Surinam, some of whom had caused great offence by begging in the streets of Paramaribo, the Government (1897) built a small village at Great Chatillon; one part of this

village, named Bethesda, was placed under the care of the Moravians, who provided, not only the chaplain, but also a staff of nurses; and so great was the enthusiasm roused by this charitable institution that when Henry Weiss, the chaplain, went on a collecting tour, he found himself famous. In New York (1903) he was presented to President Roosevelt; at Buffalo certain benevolent ladies issued a half-yearly magazine entitled, "Among the Lepers in Surinam"; and later, in Holland, he interviewed Queen Wilhelmina, and received from her a harmonium for the hospital, a gold medal for one of the nurses, and a bust of herself for the Roman Catholic patients. The institution was soon well known in the land. Some of the patients became good Christians, and sent gifts to the Leper Home in Jerusalem; most of them learned to make boots or till the garden; and in 1917 the good news was announced that, after trying the so-called "Delord Remedy," one leper had been completely cured.

By means, therefore, of all the foregoing methods, the Moravian Church gradually increased in favour, not only with the Government, but also with the planters. Formerly the planters had hated and despised the Brethren; now, towards the close of the century, they rendered financial assistance. In the year 1833 only six plantations in the country were available for missionary work; in the year 1836 the number had increased to one hundred and thirty; and, thus encouraged, the Brethren founded, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, new stations at Charlottenburg (1835), Salem (1840), Beekhuizen (1843), Rust en Werk (1844), Leliendal (1848), Catharina Sophia (1855), Heerendyke (1856), Bersaba (1858), Waterloo (1859), Clevia (1859), Domburg (1891), Nickerie (1894), Potribo (1896), and Groot Chatillon (1898).

2. THE NEW MISSION, OR THE BUSH NEGROES.

1840 At the special request of the Dutch Government, the Brethren revived their work among the Bush Negroes. These Negroes lived near four rivers, the Surinam, the Saramakka, the Koppename, and the Cotica; and on the banks of each river the Brethren erected stations.

(*a*) On the Surinam lived the Saramakkers. In this region the climate was specially deadly. The first missionary, Rasmus Schmidt lasted only five years (1840-5); the first station, Gingee, had to be closed; and, though other stations were afterwards built—Gansee (1847), Koffykamp (1854), Bergendal (1869), and Aurora (1891)—the missionaries could only pay flying visits, and had to leave the work to Native Helpers. To that rule there was one heroic
1848-53 exception. For five years a missionary's widow, Mrs. Hartmann, lived all alone among these people, sleeping in a native hut, travelling from village to village, and teaching both old and young people Bible history; and so gracious was the influence she exerted that the Saramakkers became noted for good character.

(*b*) On the Saramakka lived the Matuaris. For thirty-seven years the chief preacher was a native evangelist, John King (1862-99); this man became famous in the land, partly for his dreams and visions, and partly for his insight into character; and the missionaries themselves declared that he was inspired. With his assistance the Brethren founded two stations, Maripastoon (1862) and Kwattahede (1881); he himself visited many villages, and persuaded hundreds to hand over their idols; and his own converts elected him their Grandman.

(*c*) On the Koppename lived the Koffimakas. By tearing a heathen banner to shreds, one missionary

managed to convert the chief; the people speedily followed the chief's example; and two stations—Copenkrisi (1889) and Kaimanston (1896) were founded.

(*d*) On the Cotica lived the Aukas. Among these people the Brethren had little success. The chief, Ossessi, adopted a curious attitude. For some reasons best known to himself, he declared that while he would worship the one true God, and teach his people good morals, yet he would not have the Christian religion; with him, of course, all the Wintimen agreed; and therefore, though the Brethren founded two stations—Wanhatti (1892) and Albina (1894)—they had to be content, for the most part, with occasional evangelistic visits.

With regard to the Bush Negro Mission as a whole, one general remark must here be made. In Paramaribo and its vicinity most of the Negroes are Christians; along the four rivers most of them are still heathen; and one reason for their obstinacy is that they are still, for political reasons, suspicious of whites.

3. THE NEW-COMERS.

During the last thirty years the Moravian Church has also endeavoured to preach the Gospel to the vast crowd of Coolies, Chinese, and Javanese imported by the Dutch Government.

(*a*) *The Coolies.* In 1870 Great Britain and Holland made a treaty, one clause in which was that Coolies from India, on certain conditions, might be shipped to Surinam; and so well were the first immigrants treated by the Dutch Government, that the number speedily rose to 20,000. In religion these Coolies were mostly Hindus; but their Hinduism was of a peculiar type. In spite of their professed faith in Hinduism they really believed in many gods,

the great god, Ram, being specially popular; most of these gods were represented by images; and some Coolies are said to have asserted that hovering round them in the air there were thirty million gods and fifty million goddesses. For twenty years, not knowing Hindustani, the Moravians could do little for these people. The first good opening came in a curious way. In 1894 a Coolie Christian, Samuel Balgobin, offered his services as evangelist, and was accepted; in 1895 came a second, Nicholas Faden; in 1897 came a third, Abraham Lincoln; and so encouraging were these men's reports, that finally, in 1905, two ordained Moravian missionaries were appointed. Each of these missionaries understood Hindustani; in 1909 a Church for Coolies was built in Paramaribo; and some attempt was made to teach Coolie children. For at least four reasons, however, Moravian work among the Coolies has not been a great success:—(1) The Coolie Brahmins are fiercely opposed to the Mission, and inform their flock that the greatest crime a Coolie can commit is to become a Christian. (2) The Coolies are reserved and suspicious, and do not give the missionaries their confidence. (3) In spite of their high wages, the Coolies are not quite contented with their position in the colony, and, like many artisans, are more interested in politics than in religion. (4) Many Coolies conscientiously believe that, Ram and Jesus being two different names for the same person, Hinduism and Christianity are simply two different forms of the same religion.

(*b*) *The Chinese.* With the Chinese labourers the missionaries were more successful. In two ways the Chinese differed from the Coolies. On the one hand, they were more addicted to gambling; on the other hand they were more serious and thoughtful; and those who did accept the Christian religion—especially

certain business men in the city—became most useful members of Church Committees.

(*c*) *The Javanese.* With the Javanese, who were mostly Mahometans, the great difficulty seems to have been that, being entirely satisfied with themselves, they saw no need for instruction. In the beginning, they said, God made the first men out of baked clay. The first set were burnt and became Negroes; the second were half-baked and became whites; and the third, who were done to a turn, were the Javanese. The first preacher to these people was a Dutchman, Bielke. In order to render 1909
himself thoroughly efficient, Bielke not only studied with a retired Java missionary, but also spent a short time in Java; then he settled down at Leliendal on the Commewijne River; and making good use of his tricycle, he visited the Javanese labourers on the surrounding plantations.

But he did not form a high opinion of their character. Most of the men were gamblers and opium smokers; theft was remarkably common; and the people, with a few exceptions, refused to listen to his preaching.

4. THE NEW ORDER, 1900—1914.

And now came the great transformation. As long as 1900
the missionaries did so much for the people—raising money in the Kersten factory, preaching the Gospel, managing clubs, teaching in day-schools, nursing lepers, providing for orphans, and visiting the pestilential Bush Negro stations—there was always the very serious danger that the people could never learn to help themselves; this danger was fully discussed at a General Synod (1899); and, next year, acting on certain Synodal resolutions, the missionaries in Surinam—so far as the "Old Mission"† was con-

†The term "Old Mission," refers to Paramaribo and its environs.

cerned—made several important changes in the whole system of management. In the past the leading principle had been centralisation; henceforward it was local self-government. In the past the missionaries had been kind-hearted autocrats; henceforth, to some extent, the people were to learn to rule themselves. In the past the missionaries had not only done nearly all the work, but raised nearly all the money; henceforward the people shared both in the work and in the financial burden.

(*a*) The first step was to separate business and preaching. In the past all missionaries had been compelled to serve their time with Kersten & Co.; in 1900 this practice ceased; and henceforward the business was managed, not by a conference of missionaries, but by a special business committee. On the natives this change had a great effect. Formerly, by serving in the shop, the missionary had earned his own living; now, of course, he required a ministerial salary; and thus the people were taught to realise that, if they would have efficient ministers, they must contribute something towards their support.

(*b*) The next step was the abolition of common house-keeping. In the past the Paramaribo missionaries had all breakfasted, dined and supped in one room; henceforward each, having his own private salary, managed entirely his own domestic affairs; and Bishop Voullaire, the head of the Mission, regarded this change as highly important. In the past all the Paramaribo missionaries had met in daily conference; now each was more exclusively concerned with his own congregation; and thus another step was taken towards local congregational self-management.

(*c*) In 1899, for the first time, a native was fully

ordained; soon after a Theological College was founded; and by the year 1912 Surinam had eight native ministers.

(*d*) The "Great Room" above the Central Church was abolished. Paramaribo was now divided into districts; each district elected its own committee and kept its own register books; and each committee now undertook certain definite financial obligations.

(*e*) The last move was still more radical. In 1910 the General Mission Conference was abolished; a new body, called the Church Conference, was formed; and the difference between these two bodies was that, while the former consisted of missionaries only, the latter included, not only *ex-officio* members, *i.e.*, missionaries, the Principal of the Theological College, and School Inspectors, but also native delegates elected by the congregations. Thus did the native Christians of Surinam take the first steps towards the formation of a Native Church.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE SURINAM MARRIAGE PROBLEM, 1880—1893.

For thirteen years Surinam was the scene of a keen, painful, and even dangerous controversy on the question whether, in matters matrimonial, the converts should be expected and compelled to conform, in spite of difficulties, to the normal Christian ideal, or whether they should be permitted to retain certain national marriage customs; both among the missionaries and the converts the greatest excitement prevailed; and the interesting feature of the story is that two prominent missionaries—H. B. Heyde and J. Haller—acting from the best motives, espoused the Negro cause. For this conduct

each of these missionaries paid a severe penalty. Heyde was dismissed from the service, and set up in business as a printer; and Haller, broken down by the strain, died in the prime of life. To the careful student of Foreign Mission history, the story has great value. It shows with what difficult and complex problems the foreign missionary has sometimes to deal. For this reason, therefore, I here give the main facts.

1. The Cause of the Trouble.

The true, original cause of the trouble was the institution of slavery. For the long period of one
1737-1863 hundred and twenty-six years nearly all the Moravian converts in Surinam were slaves; by the law of the land in Surinam slaves were not allowed to marry; and, therefore, even Christian couples had, of necessity, to make their own arrangements. Among these Christian Negroes two customs existed. One was a spoken contract, called the Verbond, made by the contracting parties in the presence of the missionary. For all practical purposes this Verbond was as good as a legal marriage. In the eyes of the law it was not a marriage; in the judgment of the missionaries it was; and all couples thus united were admitted without question to the Holy Communion. The other custom was merely a private contract; and this also was recognised by the missionaries. The Verbond was binding for life; the other contract might be dissolved by mutual consent or because husbands and wives were sold to different masters. As long, however, as such couples remained faithful to each other, they also were admitted to the Holy Communion.

But now arose a great change in the situation. In 1849 all slaves owned by the Moravian Church obtained their liberty; in 1863 slavery in Surinam

was abolished entirely; and henceforth, being free citizens of the colony, the Negroes had as much right to marry as the whites. Why, then, it may be asked, were Christian Negroes not forthwith compelled to abandon their old customs and marry according to the laws of the land? But the answer was not so simple as might be expected; and much could easily be said on both sides. To that question, in fact, three different answers were given. Let us note carefully the attitude adopted by each of the three contending parties.

2. THREE DIFFERENT ATTITUDES.

(1) *The Attitude of the Moravian Mission Board.* Without the slightest hesitation, the Moravian Mission Board held that the law of the land must be enforced. If a Negro, they said, desires to marry legally, he can now do so; no excuse, either for the Verbond or for the private contract, exists any longer; and all couples who refuse to obey must be expelled from the Church. With this ruling the Surinam missionaries agreed; and during the years 1863-1879, no fewer than 5,000 refractory Church members were excommunicated.

(2) *The Negroes' Attitude.* For the following strong reasons, the Negroes, many of whom were excellent Christians, were conscientiously opposed to legal marriage:—

(*a*) The marriage-fee, one guinea, was more than most of them could afford.

(*b*) Most of the white couples in Surinam were still not legally married; nevertheless, they were freely admitted to the Holy Communion both in the Protestant and in the Catholic Churches; and, if this was right for whites, it must also be equally right for Negroes.

(*c*) Among the whites, so far as the Negroes could observe, legal marriage did not, as a rule, conduce to domestic happiness; the happiest couples were the unmarried couples, and that, they honestly testified, was equally true among the Negroes. "As soon as a man gets married," they said, "the devil enters his house."

With these arguments Bernard Heyde agreed. At a public meeting in Paramaribo (August 7th, 1879) Heyde contended that no missionary had any right to exclude a Negro from the Holy Communion for refusing to be legally married. In vain the Mission Board ordered him to recant; and in vain his Surinam colleagues forbade him to agitate in public. Heyde regarded himself as inspired; for his obstinacy he was duly dismissed; and the Negroes, in their anger, nearly tore the other missionaries to pieces.

(3) *The Missionaries' Later Attitude.* For the sake of peace, most of the Moravian missionaries, during the next period (1880-93) favoured some kind of compromise; so keen was the situation that two members of the Mission Board—Eugene Reichel and Th. van. Calker—visited Surinam; and finally, after much heart-searching, the Mission Board agreed to the following concessions:—

(*a*) Unmarried couples might be baptized.

(*b*) Unmarried couples, while not admitted to the Holy Communion, need not have their names struck off the Church lists.

(*c*) If one of the contracting parties was willing to obey the law, but was prevented from so doing by the opposition of his or her partner, that one should be admitted to the Communion. With this attempt at com-

promise, however, John Haller disagreed; he himself refused to suspend defaulters; and the Mission Board at last agreed that even unmarried couples might attend the Communion. Nevertheless, said the Mission Board, the Surinam missionaries must rectify matters some day.

3. FINAL SOLUTION.

At the request of the Mission Board, the Government reduced the marriage-fee; now the Negroes had no longer their chief excuse; and henceforth legal marriage was enforced in all cases. 1893

Chapter VI.

SOUTH AFRICA, WEST: or THE HOTTENTOTS, 1792—1914.

1. The Three Musicians, 1792—1806.

As long as South Africa remained in the hands of the Dutch, with their rigid Calvinistic notions, and their theory that only State Churches had any right to exist, there seemed little chance that George Schmidt would have a successor; and yet it was really a famous Dutch preacher who changed the whole situation. His name was Hesperous Ritzman Van Lier. For about three years this man was the chief topic of conversation in Cape Town. In defiance of orthodox popular opinion, according to which the Boers were God's chosen people, while the Hottentots were predestined to damnation, Van Lier boldly maintained that the Gospel should be preached to every creature. In the year 1789 he preached a sensational missionary sermon; and one result of the sermon was that Mrs. Smith, in Cape Town itself, opened a Sunday School for slaves. But this was not the end of the preacher's influence. At the very time when Van Lier was at the height of his glory, Bishop John Frederick Reichel, who was on his way home from Tranquebar, called at Cape Town. And now, taking the tide at the flood, Bishop Reichel discussed the problem with Van Lier, addressed well-wishers at drawing-room meetings in Cape Town, and then, on his return
1789 to Herrnhut, proposed at a General Synod that, if possible, the Mission to South Africa should be resumed. The authorities appealed to the Chamber of Seventeen. Meanwhile, in Holland, the change of opinion was almost as great as in Cape Town.

In former years the Moravians in Holland had been regarded as heretics; now large numbers of Dutch Christians had read Spangenberg's "Idea Fidei Fratrum"; and the consequence was that, on certain conditions, the Seventeen gave their permission. First, they said, they must know the names of the men; secondly, these men must not preach where other churches existed already; and thirdly, they must not be replaced without the Chamber's permission. To these conditions the Moravian authorities agreed; three musical Brethren were selected; and in due course the three arrived at Cape Town. The eldest, Henry Marsveld, was a singer; the second, Daniel Schwinn, played the flute; and the third, John Kühnel, played the violin.

The situation in South Africa was still uncertain. 1792
At the time when the three musicians arrived on the scene there was still much difference of opinion on the question of Christian work among the Hottentots. In official circles the feeling was friendly; among the Boers themselves it was mostly hostile; and thus, at the outset, the Brethren met both with favour and with opposition. For the first two or three years they were almost entirely dependent on the goodwill of a certain Major Teunessen, the commandant in the Sweet Milk Valley. As this man had been taught by George Schmidt, he had a certain amount of sympathy with missionary work; and now, from natural motives of gratitude, he acted as the Brethren's guide and patron. With the special permission of Rhenius, the Governor, Teunessen drove the Brethren to the Valley; there, during the Christmas season, he entertained them royally in his own house; and then, on December 24th, he drove them to the historic Glen of Baboons. For three hours the Brethren examined the sacred scene.

There, in full vigour, stood George Schmidt's pear-tree, heavily laden with fruit; there, too, a Hottentot informed them, stood part of his house; and dotted around, lay the ruins of cottages built by him and his converts. But the strangest link with the past was still to come. At Sergeant's River, two miles further on, there still lived, said the Hottentots, an old woman named Helena, who had been baptized by Schmidt; she was now over eighty years old, and nearly blind; and yet, they said, she could still remember the hour when Schmidt arrived. The Major drove the three Brethren to the spot. As soon as they arrived on the scene, the Hottentots gathered round and did obeisance; old Helena, too weak to walk alone, was led out of her hut; and, seated on the ground in the open air, she answered the Brethren's questions.

"Is it true," asked Marsveld, "that George Schmidt baptized you?"

"Yes, masters, it is true."

"And what name did he give you?"

"Helena."

"And do you remember anything George Schmidt taught you?"

For some moments Helena tasked her memory in vain, then Marsveld, to give a hint, mentioned the name of Jesus, and old Helena smiled and answered: "Jesus! Jesus! Oh, yes! I remember that."

"And we are George Schmidt's Brethren," said Marsveld, "and have come like him to tell you how to be saved."

At this, Helena, folding her hands, exclaimed: "Thank God! thank God!" For a few moments she sat pondering, and then she informed the Brethren that in her hut she had a book which George Schmidt had given her. Forthwith a

Hottentot ran to her hut, and returned with a sheepskin parcel. Inside the sheepskin lay a leather bag; inside the leather bag a Dutch New Testament; and that New Testament, carefully preserved in a box made of wood from the pear-tree, is now shewn to the visitor at Genadendal. On the Brethren the whole scene made a profound impression. In reply to further questions, Helena explained that, while unable to read herself, she still loved to hear the Bible read to her. The reader was a Hottentot young woman; this young woman now appeared and read the second chapter of St. Matthew; and the three Brethren, touched to the quick, resolved to revive the cause at Baviansklоof.

As soon, then, as the usual Christmas and New Year's festivities were over, the three musicians, aided by friendly Hottentots, began to build the far-famed settlement of Genadendal.† On January 4th, 1793, they laid the foundations of the first Mission House in South Africa. In order to encourage the Hottentots, they promised that, as soon as the house was ready, a day-school would be opened; and the Hottentots, fired by this prospect, worked without any pay. For eight weeks Baviansklоof was the home of enthusiastic industry. The Hottentots doffed their caroches and toiled in the sun; the women sat smoking strong tobacco and watching their husbands; and the babies, sitting huck-a-back, grinned over their mothers' shoulders. As soon as the first house was ready, the Brethren proceeded to turn the Glen into a garden. The Hottentots, zealous as ever, guided the plough; the women carried off refuse in their caroches; and the Brethren, after clearing the brushwood, planted vegetables. Meanwhile, however, the usual foes were at work. In the dead of night baboons

1793

†Pronounced Gnādendāl, the ā as in father.

purloined the pears; caterpillars, beetles and moles destroyed both cabbages and fruit; and one night a furious gale removed the roof of their house. But the greatest trouble was the lack of milk and butter. For some reason which I am unable to define, all the cows in that district refused to be milked until their calves had been weaned, and the Brethren solved the problem by importing a herd of goats. The next trouble sprang from Cape Town. For several years the Brethren were constantly afflicted by gangs of sightseers. In those days there were no country hotels; the law of hospitality was binding; and the Brethren had to entertain visitors far better off than themselves. Each visitor, of course, expected his cake and wine; each, if he stayed the night, occupied the best bedroom; and most of them returned to Cape Town without subscribing to the funds.

In spite, however, of these afflictions, the cause soon made good progress. As soon as the first house was ready, the promised day-school was opened; and the Brethren discovered, to their delight, that all the Hottentots were eager to learn. Some came from kraals a hundred and fifty miles distant; the school-room, *i.e.*, the Brethren's parlour, held 200 scholars; and young and old alike could be seen conning their books in the cornfields. In vain the Boers warned these seekers after truth that the Brethren had a chest of bamboo-canes. "Never mind," retorted the students. "As long as we can get the learning we do not mind the stick." Still better, there was soon a marked improvement in morals. Some of the Hottentots were lazy, drunken, and immoral; now, in their desire for learning, they submitted to discipline; and the punishment which they dreaded most was expulsion from the day-school. The most striking case was

that of a married man. For the sin of hitting his wife on the head he was exposed before the whole school.

"Why did you beat your wife?" said the schoolmaster.

"Because she would not mend my trousers," he answered.

The schoolmaster seized the man's book; the man was expelled from the school; and the Hottentots learned that a scholar must be good, not only in the school-room, but also in his own home. With the children, in fact, the Brethren were rather too strict. If a boy or girl was accused of any serious sin, the Brethren generally arranged a public trial, at which the other scholars were encouraged to give evidence; and then, if the verdict was "Guilty," the culprit was handed to his parents to be flogged. It is obvious that this system was a mistake. Boys and girls were taught to spy on each other; the innocent gloated over the trials of the guilty; and some of the children became, in consequence, insufferable prigs. Let us not, however, be too hard on the Brethren. As soon as they discovered their mistake they modified their methods.

Meanwhile, the spiritual side of the work had not been neglected. For some years the Brethren were not allowed to build a Church. In the rainy season the services were held in the parlour; in fine weather, under George Schmidt's pear-tree. From the outset the Brethren laid great stress on music. Marsveld, the Dutchman, acted as precentor; the two others played their respective instruments; the children had music lessons twice a week; and the Hottentots learned the Gospel message, not merely by listening to the sermons, but also, and chiefly, by singing the high-class Moravian chorales. By employing this

method, therefore, the Brethren appealed, not to the reasoning faculties, but rather to the emotions; most of their preaching, also, was of the "Blood and Wounds Theology" type; and yet the ethical results were most encouraging. The more the Brethren described the sufferings of Christ, the more the people seemed convinced of sin; one sinner, the Brethren reported, endeavoured to ease his conscience by taking medicine; and the people often confessed their transgressions, not only to God, but to the Brethren. On July 19th, 1793, the first convert was baptized. The candidate was a young married woman, and strange was the story she had to tell. Her husband, she said, had often dreamed that three men would come to South Africa to resume George Schmidt's labours; she herself was a daughter of Kybodo, one of George Schmidt's converts; and thus, in her, the Brethren had another link with the past.

At this point, however, fresh troubles arose. The first was due to the great European War. On February 1st, 1793, the French Republic declared war against both England and Holland;
1793-4 in April an order was issued in Cape Town that all able-bodied Hottentots must enlist in the Dutch Army; and so many Hottentots now left Baviaans-kloof that not enough were left to till the soil. For some months the missionaries were on short commons; many Hottentot women and children actually died of starvation; and friends at Cape Town had to send provisions. Next year, 1794, Holland having been conquered by France, England and Holland were at war; the English fleet was now in Table Bay; and once again the Hottentots were summoned to fight for their native land.

We have next the famous "Story of the Bell." As the Brethren wished to teach the Hottentots punctuality, they used a large bell to summon them

to work; and Kühnel, in his diary, says that a Dutch clergyman named Borcherd, residing at Stellenbosch, interviewed certain Government officials at Cape Town, complained that the bell disturbed his slumbers, and demanded, with success, that the bell be rung no more. For some weeks, so we are told, the story of the bell created a sensation in Cape Town, and pictures of the offending bell were sold in the stationers' shops. But now comes a question hard to answer. In his *History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, Dr. du Plessis dismisses the whole story as fiction. As Stellenbosch is fifty miles from Baviaanskloof, Borcherd, he says, could not hear the bell, and no clergyman in his senses could make such an absurd complaint; and, further, we must also admit that the evidence for the story will not stand much criticism. Kühnel heard the story from Baas Teunessen; Baas Teunessen, so he said, had heard it in Cape Town; and Kühnel recorded it as a fact without making further inquiries. How, then, it may be asked, could such a story arise at all? In all probability Borcherd did make a complaint of some kind. At the time there was a rule in South Africa that only State Churches had the right to have bells. Borcherd heard that, against this law, the Brethren had a bell at Baviaanskloof, and what he probably said was that the mere thought of such an enormity was sufficient to disturb his slumbers. At any rate, the bell was silent till South Africa came under British rule.

The next trouble was due to Major Teunessen. His motive was probably jealousy. For some thirty or forty years he had exercised a great influence over the Hottentots; by many he was called the "Hottentots' God"; and now, when he found that the Brethren were exerting a still greater influence, he became their bitterest enemy, and sided

with certain unscrupulous Boer farmers. The farmers' case may have had some justice in it. In former years, so they declared, Hottentots had worked on their farms; now they had deserted the farms and settled at Baviansklоof; and as a result of this, they contended, the farming industry suffered. On the surface, this argument was perfectly sound; Major Teunessen went to Cape Town and complained that Baviansklоof was overcrowded; and then, returning accompanied by three officials, he announced that, in accordance with a new Government order, no Hottentot might live at Baviansklоof unless he could show a certificate proving that the farmer for whom he had previously worked had allowed him to come. For some months this attack on the Mission succeeded; most of the farmers, as Teunessen knew, could neither read nor write; and his argument, therefore, about the certificate was unblushing trickery. But once again the Government acted nobly. In response to the Brethren's request, a special inspector came to Baviansklоof; this inspector now discovered that, so far from being over-crowded, Baviansklоof possessed only twelve head of cattle, only one hundred goats, only two sheep, and only one horse; and acting on the inspector's report, the Government rescinded its order.

1800 The last trouble was due to a famous rebel. At the very time when the English fleet was bombarding Cape Town, there was formed in South Africa the so-called National Party, the chief object of which was to throw off the yoke of Holland and establish a South African Independent Republic; and now, led by an Italian named Pisani, they actually issued a manifesto declaring that one of their most important designs was the absolute destruction of Baviansklоof. Pisani appears to have been a half-

mad fanatic. "I belong myself," said he, "to the devil; sooner or later I shall be damned in any case; and meanwhile I will do my best to prevent the Hottentots going to heaven." The chief terms of the manifesto were as follows:—

(1) We will not permit any Moravians to live here and teach the Hottentots.

(2) All Hottentots born on farms must live on those farms, and live without wages till they are twenty-five years old.

(3) All other Hottentots must live among the farmers.

(4) All Hottentots and Bushmen must remain slaves for life.

(5) If the Moravians want to preach, they may go to the Bushmen.

For the Brethren there was now only one course open; Pisani issued a definite order that they must leave Baviaanskloof in three days; and the Brethren, driving off to Cape Town, left the station in charge of old Helena.

But the day of deliverance was nearer than the Brethren thought. Once more the Governor, Schuyskeu, proved himself a true statesman. In the past he had tried to be just to the Brethren, and now he openly acted as their champion. First, he provided the Brethren with a safe-conduct, and authorised them to return to Baviaanskloof; secondly, knowing that Moravian Hottentots were serving in the Dutch Army at Cape Town, he ordered Teunessen to send provisions to Baviaanskloof; and finally, a month later, when Cape Town surrendered and South Africa became a British Colony (September 16th, 1801), he recommended 1801

Baviansklоof to the care of the new Governor, General Craig.†

2. THE RULE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1806—1914.

As soon as South Africa passed into British hands, the Moravian cause at Genadendal entered on a new epoch of great prosperity; the British rule began with fair play to all religious denominations; and so deep was the interest taken by many of the Governors, not only in the material, but also in the moral and religious, welfare of the Hottentots, that one enthusiastic Moravian missionary, John Henry Schmitt—noted for his fight with a panther—declared that his confidence in the Government was complete. His praise was more than justified. Lord Macartney provided the timber of which the first Church at Genadendal was built, and had the Moravian property clearly defined by law. Sir John Craddock paid several visits to Genadendal, interviewed the converts in their huts, granted land for the extension of the settlement, subscribed towards the building of a school-house, and even sent the Brethren a sermon, printed at his own request, on the importance of religious education. Lord Caledon granted the land for a new station at Gruenekloof, near Cape Town; Sir Tony Cole (1830) visited the Leper Hospital at Hemel-en-Aarde, and examined every detail of the work; Sir George Grey,* who also visited Genadendal, informed the Brethren that if they would open schools in Kaffraria the Government would cover the expense; and Sir

†In 1802, by the Treaty of Amiens, South Africa was restored to Holland; but in 1806 was finally annexed by Great Britain.

*Sir George Grey is noted for his interest in Missions. He was afterwards Governor of New Zealand, and asked the Brethren to undertake work among the Papus in Victoria. For his interest in the natives of Samoa, see R. L. Stevenson's "Vailima Memories," p. 18.

George Napier (1840) was so delighted with the settlement that he actually raised a fund for a Mission among the Fingoos. Let us now see how the Brethren, aided and encouraged by the Government, endeavoured to uplift the Hottentots.

The Grant System. For eighty-two years Genadendal was managed on the so-called "Grant System"; this system was also adopted at some other stations; and the leading principle of the system was that while the Government granted the land free of rent, and for the benefit of the natives, the Brethren, in return for the privilege, undertook the entire management—governmental, industrial, educational, and religious—of the growing town. At each of these "Grant Stations," therefore, the missionaries had to perform a great variety of duties. They were employers of labour; they were magistrates; they were sanitary inspectors and medical officers; they were school-inspectors; and thereby they saved the Government many thousands of pounds. In England work of this sort was done by Government officials; in South Africa it was done, without any extra salary, by the Moravian missionaries; and the Government, recognising fully the high value of their work, were naturally only too anxious to make new grants of land. By observing how the system worked at Genadendal, we shall appreciate its importance. 1827-1969

(1) By nature most of the Hottentots were lazy; by the Brethren they were now taught to work; and so industrious did they become that in a few years they made the settlement the second largest town in South Africa. The business part of the town was called the "Werft." At the head of each department was a missionary; each section, *i.e.*, the grocery stores, the flower garden, the smithy,

the allotments, and the pastureland, was under immediate Moravian control; and thus guided, the Hottentots became energetic and skilful artisans. In the smithy they made the best knives in the colony; both their tobacco and their snuff were renowned at Cape Town for their delicate flavour; missionaries and Hottentots alike now wore home-made leather trousers; and once, when a period of bad trade threatened the station with starvation, the missionaries speedily averted the danger by planting 7,000 castor-oil trees and setting up a machine to extract the oil. The little town became a model of decency and order. Each family man now lived, not as of old, in a bee-hive hut, but in a brick cottage, behind which he had about an acre of land, let out in usufruct; and here, like an English allotment-holder, he grew his own fruit and vegetables, and kept his own pig and hens. By the middle of the century Genadendal had become a famous industrial centre. Genadendal ploughs, invented by a missionary, took first prize at Cape Town; Genadendal snuff-boxes were made from the historic pear-tree; Genadendal goods, of various kinds, were shown at the Great Exhibition in London (1851); and Genadendal castor-oil won a gold medal. Nor were such facts the best part of the story. Good articles suggested good workmen; good workmen were the chief need of the colony; and the consequence was that the Genadendal Hottentots often found employment outside the station. The labourers earned good wages on the railway; the girls made good servants at Cape Town, sometimes in the homes of high officials, and became noted for their integrity of character; and the young men, who enlisted in the army and fought in the Kaffir Wars, were praised for their loyalty and bravery. Thus did Genadendal become famous; the natives

called the place "God's Home"; and visitors from Cape Town were entranced by its beauty. In the spring and early summer the station shone at its fairest. On the neighbouring hill red flowers were massed in thousands; peaches, oranges and tomatoes gleamed in the gardens; the brook, on its way to the Sonderend, sparkled in the sunshine; and Pringle, the South African poet, expressed the popular admiration in the lines:—

In distant Europe oft I've longed
To see this Vale of Grace; to list the sound
Of bubbling brooks and morning twitters round
The apostle Schmidt's old consecrated tree;
To hear the hymns of solemn melody
Rising from the sequestered burial ground,†
To see the heathen taught, the lost sheep found,
The blind restored, the long-oppressed set free.
All this I've witnessed now, and pleasantly
Its memory shall in my heart remain.

(2) Secondly, the Brethren acted as magistrates. As the land was Moravian grant-land, the missionaries had full authority to say who might and who might not live there. No Hottentot, therefore, could live at Genadendal without the Brethren's permission; and that permission was not given except on stringent conditions. Each applicant had to show a certificate proving that he was not some farmer's labourer; he had to work whether he wished to or not; and, above all, he had to sign a document known as the "Genadendal Regulations." And those "Regulations" were most rigidly enforced. No public-houses and no gambling halls were permitted; no wines or spirits were sold in the shops; no tramps solicited alms; and no boys played pitch

†Pringle is probably referring here to the early morning Easter Sunday service.

and toss in the streets. At one time certain hostile Boers circulated the absurd report that the Brethren were traitors in disguise, and that their converts possessed fire-arms, and might, therefore, at any moment, rise in rebellion against the Government. The very opposite, of course, was the case. "No Hottentot," ran the rule, "is to keep fire-arms in his house at night. He must deliver them up to us every evening. If he goes with arms into the country, he must have a certificate from us; otherwise, every farmer has a right to take them from him." By enforcing these "Regulations," therefore, the Brethren preserved due law and order; and all the converts were instructed to be loyal to the Government.

(3) Still further, according to their limited ability, the Brethren tried to act as medical advisers. As the nearest doctor lived twenty miles away, and medical missionaries, strictly speaking, did not yet exist, the Brethren could only make the best of a bad case. In order to provide, as far as possible, for the medical needs of the people, they opened a chemist's shop, which was managed by a missionary; and this missionary, though not a qualified practitioner, could, at least, deal with snake-bites, administer rhubarb and salts, check the rather frequent "bilious fever" by means of an emetic, and admonish the people to eat salt, wear suitable clothing, and wash their hands before meals. He had also, it appears, learned how to vaccinate; and no conscientious objectors existed.

(4) Above all the Brethren laid stress on general and religious education. In this work the chief leader was Bishop Hans Peter Hallbeck. He founded
1838 an excellent Training School for teachers (1838); this institution provided native teachers for the day-

schools; and the people reached such a high intellectual level, that the printing press was able to issue two monthly magazines. With the spiritual results most of the missionaries at Genadendal expressed themselves delighted. Some of the people acted as sidesmen and sextons; the Church music was of a very high order, and the Hottentots sang correctly tunes which, said Christian Ignatius La Trobe, a gifted Moravian composer, were often considered too difficult for the average English congregation; and all the Church members, especially after emancipation came into force, contributed generously to the Church funds and supplied free labour when required.

3. SOME MISSIONARY PROBLEMS.

As the work at Genadendal was such a brilliant success, several Government officials invited the Brethren to found new stations; and in response to these invitations they established Mamre (1808), Enon (1818), Elim (1824), Clarkson (1839), Wittewater (1859), Goedverwacht (1859), Berea (1865), Witkleibosch (1883), Pella (1893), Twistwyk (1895). But these stations were not all of the same kind. Four of the stations—Elim, Wittewater, Goedverwacht, and Pella—were Moravian freehold property; four others—Enon, Mamre, Clarkson, and Berea—were, like Genadendal, "Grant Stations"; and the two remaining, Witkleibosch and Twistwyk, were only preaching places. On the whole the "Grant Stations" gave the missionaries the most trouble. Let us see precisely how this came to pass. For of every trouble faced by the Moravians in South Africa we shall find the same fundamental cause; that cause was the growing native self-consciousness; and the self-consciousness, in its turn, was due to other subsidiary causes.

(*a*) The first cause was the Act of Emancipation (1838). As soon as slavery was abolished in South Africa, many Hottentots, tired of working for a master, rushed in search of better conditions to the Moravian Stations; the Boers now accused the Brethren of enticing the Hottentots; and the Government came to the rescue of the Mission by forming a "Commission of Inquiry" (1849). At every station each Hottentot had to answer the following official questions:—

(1) Are you compelled to buy your goods in the Moravian shop?
(2) Are you compelled to work here at a lower wage than you can get elsewhere?
(3) Are you urged to industry?
(4) Are you obliged to leave your employment in order to attend Church festivals?
(5) Do the missionaries interfere with the price for which you work for the farmers?

To each of these questions the answers were satisfactory; the charges against the missionaries broke down; and Hottentots flocked to the stations in greater numbers than ever. But this inrush brought its own dangers with it. In many cases these newcomers were not pure-bred Hottentots, but half-breeds, some of whom were of a lower moral type than the Hottentots; and many of those who held Government certificates as teachers had to be dismissed for insubordination.

(*b*) The next trouble arose directly from the "Grant System." Let us note here the precise difference between a "Freehold Station" and a "Grant Station." In the former, *i.e.*, on its own property, the Moravian Church had undisputed authority; in the latter, the property ultimately really belonged to the Government, and the Brethren,

who had it merely on trust, and acted as Government officials, were bound down, as much as the natives, by Government regulations; and the natives, being aware of this latter fact—knowing, *i.e.*, that the land did not belong to the missionaries—began to suspect that, somehow or other, they were being defrauded of their just rights. If the land, they argued, did not belong to the missionaries, to whom then must it belong? Surely it must belong to the natives. Such thoughts fostered a restive spirit. Some of the natives sometimes complained to the Government; at one station they even instituted a law-suit; and though the Brethren won the case, all the missionaries felt that such painful disputes must not be repeated. For all such troubles the only conceivable remedy was some form of local self-government. At the close of the Boer War the hopes of the natives rose higher than ever. With those hopes both the Moravian missionaries and their friends, the Rhenish missionaries, had a certain amount of sympathy. As long as the Hottentots remained loyal to the crown, there was no reason, they contended, why they should not learn to rule themselves. Each society, the Moravian and the Rhenish, now appealed to the Government. The Government yielded; "Mission Land Act" was passed (1909), dealing with the Grant System; and henceforward a station might be managed, not by missionaries acting as Government officials, but by a Board of six, four of whom were elected by the people, and two appointed by the Government. As, however, the application of the Act was optional, no sudden dramatic change occurred: Some of the stations tried to apply the Act; others seemed to prefer the old conditions.

(*c*) The third cause of trouble sprang from non-

Moravian sources. In 1892, some native converts, led by a certain Malone, left the Wesleyan Methodist Church and formed the "Ethiopian Church"; then they affiliated themselves with the African Methodist Episcopal Church of North America; and then, led by a colonial Bishop, Turner, they announced the far-reaching principle that South Africa could never be saved from ruin unless it possessed a Native Church served by native ministers. Bishop Turner's conceptions, to some extent, influenced the Moravian converts; the "Native Church" ideal steadily grew; and thereby problems were raised which still await solution.

(*d*) The last trouble was of a different nature. In spite of the Brethren's repeated requests, the Government refused to deal satisfactorily with the liquor traffic. At one time a useful law was passed that no intoxicating liquor should be sold within ten miles of Genadendal; but this rule was not applied to the other stations; and the general situation was that while strong drink could not be obtained in the station itself, it could be obtained in the immediate neighbourhood. In South Africa drink is specially dangerous. Drink leads to immorality; immorality leads to consumption; and consumption, if unchecked, threatens to annihilate the people.

4. THE WORK AMONG THE LEPERS, 1818-68.

For fifty years the Moravians, at the special request of the Government, did useful work among the South African lepers. The first centre was Hemel-en-Aarde, a few miles south of Genadendal, and six miles from the sea coast. Once more there was cordial co-operation between the Government and the Moravian Church. The Government built both the hospital and the Church, and provided the salary; Dr. Honey, an English practitioner, visited

twice a week; and Peter Leitner, the Moravian chaplain, acted as general manager. Each week he had to see to it that twenty-four sheep were killed; each day, aided by his English wife, he saw each patient properly fed and washed; and, following Dr. Honey's instructions, he enabled those who could walk the six miles to have their daily sea-bath. His experience as a preacher of the Gospel was mingled. On the one hand he complained that many of the patients were fond of dancing, stole milk and butter, and smuggled in spirits; on the other hand, he baptized ninety-five converts; and when he died of a stroke at Church, the lamentation was great. For the physical troubles of the lepers neither Leitner nor the Doctor had been able to do much; no case of cure was recorded; and, after twenty-three years' work, nearly four hundred lepers' bodies lay in the little churchyard.

But the Government had not yet abandoned hope. In order to segregate the lepers still more, they now removed the Hospital to Robben Island, 1846
where the missionary had to look after, not only lepers of various races—English, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, and Hungarian—but also fifty or sixty lunatics; and as these latter were allowed to roam the island, both he and his wife and children were often in serious danger of being murdered. But Robben Island, as a health resort, was no more successful than Hemel-en-Aarde. In spite of the systematic sea-bathing the death-rate was still high; one year the missionary conducted seventy-two funerals; and sometimes several bodies, sewn in blankets, had to be placed in one grave. Nor were the spiritual results much more encouraging. For all the inhabitants on the island, *i.e.*, all the lepers and the least violent lunatics, regular public Sunday worship was held; various week-night

meetings were also held; the singing, led by a seraphine, seemed to give pleasure; and yet, so far as concerned repentance, most of the patients seemed hopeless. Both drink and immorality claimed their victims; many died with curses on their lips; and one missionary, Küster, observed, to his dismay, that the more wicked a man was the greater was the attendance at his funeral. For five years John
1861-6 Taylor, from Yorkshire, acted both as preacher and as schoolmaster; but, though he gained the people's affection, he could make little improvement in their character. At length the Government intervened once more; the work was handed over to the Church of England; and the Moravians, who had learned to take a deep interest in lepers, transferred their attention to similar work in Jerusalem.

5. Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, 1894—1914.

Once more the cause of the problem was political. As soon as emancipation came into full force, many Hottentots—not only from the Moravian stations, but also from the neighbouring Boer farms—rushed to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth in search of good employment and high wages; by the year 1890 there were at least 2,000 Hottentots in Cape Town; and when the missionary followed his wandering sheep, he found, not altogether to his surprise, that in most cases they had succumbed to the temptations of town life. As Edmund Burke found it easy to be good in the village, but hard in the city of Dublin, so the Hottentots found it easy at Genadendal, but hard at Cape Town. In the stations they had been under supervision; in the towns they were free; and misusing their liberty, they took to evil ways. In the stations, brandy could not be bought; in the towns it was cheap; and the consequence needs no description.

In the stations or on the farms they had earned modest wages; in the towns they earned high wages, either in the docks or in the gas-works; and the publican reaped the benefit of the improvement. In the stations they lived with fellow-Christians; in the towns some of their fellow-workmen were Mahometans; and these Mahometans hated the Christian religion, and were often addicted to sorcery, gambling, and other evil ways. Never, therefore, did the Brethren in South Africa face a more difficult problem. In Cape Town they founded Moravian Hill (1894); in Port Elizabeth, Moravian Hope (1898); and some missionaries held the opinion that this work in the two cities was the most important Moravian work in the colony. For some years the chief difficulty lay in the fact that the converts in these cities were so scattered. In Cape Town "Coloureds" were found in no fewer than thirty-eight different streets; in Port Elizabeth Kaffirs dwelt in "Locations," compared by one Brother to the criminal dens described in "Oliver Twist"; and thus, close pastoral supervision was almost an impossibility. At length, however, an excellent remedy was found. Each town was divided into districts; over each district a Native Helper was appointed; and thus, in the very hotbeds of vice, Christian Hottentots, clothed with a new sense of responsibility, learned to save their fellow-countrymen from physical and moral ruin.

Chapter VII.

SOUTH AFRICA, EAST: OR THE KAFFIRS, 1828—1914.

For the sake of clearness I begin this chapter by explaining that, in order to understand the story, we must distinguish clearly between three districts or fields of labour, described here as Cape Colony, Tembuland, and Hlubiland; and, in each district, certain names, either of persons or of places, stand out with prominence. In Cape Colony the story centres round the strange and dramatic history of the first station, Shiloh, on the Klipplaat River; in Tembuland the chief name to remember is that of Elias, a splendid Kaffir evangelist; and in Hlubiland we shall hear of the exploits, partly of Henry Meyer, the missionary, and partly of his assistant, the chieftain, Zibi. Let us also note the geographical direction. Among the Kaffirs Moravian work was a steady advance north-east. First, in 1828, the Brethren began in Cape Colony; then, in 1863, they entered Tembuland; and then, in 1870, they pushed still further north-east into Hlubiland. In Cape Colony the chief stations were Shiloh (1828), Goshen (1850), and Engotini (1859); in Tembuland, Baziya (1863), Tabase (1873), and Entazana (1873); and in Hlubiland, Entumasi (1870), Elukolweni (1875), Tinana (1876), Bethesda (1877), Ezincuka (1887), Mvenyane (1893), and Nxotschane (1905). With these main facts before us, we may note certain details. Each section will throw some light on certain features in the Kaffir character.

1. Cape Colony, 1828—1914.

For the origin of Moravian work among the Kaffirs,

the chief credit must be given to a Kaffir young woman. The story opens at Genadendal. Among 1816
the few Kaffirs residing at Genadendal, the most intelligent was Wilhelmina Stompjes, a nurse in a missionary's family; this young woman frequently prayed for her heathen fellow-countrymen; and hearing one day that a famous English Moravian, Christian Ignatius La Trobe—Editor of "Periodical Accounts"—had come to Genadendal on an official visit, she called to see him, and, seated on a low stool, pleaded her cause with true eloquence.

"Oh sir!" she said, "I have often feared that the Brethren would leave off praying for my people. But see! I have found a text which revived my hopes: 'I will bring the blind by a way that they know not.'—Psalm XLII., 16." For twelve years Wilhelmina waited in vain; then Bowana, a Kaffir chief, being fiercely attacked by his neighbours, asked Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, to protect him; and Lord Charles, in his reply, suggested, not only to Bowana, but also to the missionaries at Genadendal, that the best way to protect Bowana was to send him the Gospel. Forthwith the Brethren took the hint; two missionaries called on Bowana (1827); and the chief, clad in a leopard's skin, appeared delighted to see them. In return for medals and coffee, he presented the Brethren with an ox; the missionaries held a short service in the open air; and next year, with Bowana's approval, the Mission 1828
to the Kaffirs began.

The first station, Shiloh, had a strange and eventful history. In accordance partly with the Governor's instructions, and partly with their own experiences at Genadendal, the Brethren made Shiloh a "Grant Station." For this purpose the Government granted land, which, in turn, was let out in allotments to the natives; and the first missionaries, settling

down in the district, enclosed a pen for the cattle, built not only a house for themselves, but huts for the natives, constructed an aqueduct, opened a smithy and a carpenter's shop, and began to teach the wild Kaffirs how to be good artisans, good farmers, and good market-gardeners. In order to form a Christian nucleus a few Hottentots were transferred from Enon; Wilhelmina was made head-mistress of the day school; and village rules, like those at Genadendal, were read out and explained. For a few months life at Shiloh ran smoothly; one of the missionaries, Bonatz the younger, charmed the natives by making a water-wheel; and the Brethren hoped that, in a few years, Shiloh would become a Christian village. And yet the very opposite occurred. During the next twenty years Shiloh was often the scene of crime and terror.

(*a*) The first trouble was caused by wicked Bowana. In spite of all the Brethren's entreaties, Bowana refused to become a Christian. "No! No!" he said, "it is a serious matter. What shall I do with my seven wives?" On one occasion he consulted with Wilhelmina.

"Look here," he said, "if you will give me a cow, I'll give up one of my wives."

"But you have no right to seven wives," she answered, "it is against the law of God."

"Nonsense!" retorted Bowana, "if God forbids that, he might as well forbid us to eat."

At the height of his wicked career Bowana was secretly murdered. For some reason his son, Mapasa, suspected the Brethren of the crime, and, followed by fifty blood-thirsty warriors, he advanced on the Mission-house. There, however, at the front door, Wilhelmina defied him: "Begone, you murderous coward," she said; and Mapasa and his warriors retreated.

(*b*) *The War of the Axe.* The origin of this war was as follows. For the crime of stealing an axe a Kaffir was seized by British soldiers and chained to a Hottentot; some of his friends tried to rescue him by chopping off the Hottentot's arms; and, as the Hottentot died of his wounds, these friends were held guilty of murder. Among the Kaffirs there was now great indignation; Mapasa, in revenge, raised a local rebellion against the Government; and Major Hogg, the British Commander, bivouacked at Shiloh. To the missionaries this was a great affliction. Some of the officers held a ball in the Church; some of the soldiers corrupted the natives' morals; and, as dysentery broke out, all the Moravian sisters were busy as nurses. In one sense, however, this episode aided the Mission. As soon as peace was fully restored, Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, came to Shiloh; there, speaking in the Church, he begged the Kaffirs to be loyal to the missionaries; and further, he even promised the missionaries that, if they would build ten more stations, he would provide the land required. "I would rather have Mission stations," he said, "than military outposts. The missionaries prevent war, and thus save the Government millions of pounds." 1846

(*c*) *Umlangeni's War.* On this occasion there was a natural, but very unfortunate, misunderstanding. First Umlangeni, who thought himself inspired, raised a grand Kaffir rebellion against the Government; then the Tambookies in Shiloh, disregarding the Brethren's instructions, joined Umlangeni's colours, leaving only Hottentots in the village; and Major Tylden, the British Officer, imagining that these Hottentots were rebels, brought up his heavy guns and laid siege to Shiloh. The scene was now remarkable. On a hill outside the village stood the loyal missionaries; in the Church were the terrified 1850

Hottentots, firing bullets from the windows; and soon the whole of Shiloh was in flames. But, once more, sweet came out of the bitter. As soon as this little village siege was over, Major Tylden discovered his mistake; ample apologies followed; and Shiloh was rebuilt at Government expense. The re-building cost £3,000.

1856 (*d*) *Umlakasa's Prophecy.* In order to raise another Kaffir rebellion, Umlakasa, a Kaffir fanatic, announced that if the Kaffirs would kill their old people and cattle, and live entirely on rice and sugar, various glorious miracles would occur. First, he said, the Russians would come and drive out the British; then many Kaffir ancestors would rise from the dead; and then a new breed of cattle would arise, and corn would spring up like mushrooms. Thus, under Kaffir rule, South Africa would become an earthly paradise. The result was inevitable. Inspired by these ideals, the foolish Kaffirs slew their bullocks in thousands. For some months the district round Shiloh now swarmed with half-starved beggars, many of whom came to Shiloh for work; and one youth, going out of his mind, committed so many excesses that the missionaries had to lock him up in the smithy.

1890 (*e*) *The Property Quarrel.* We come here to one of the troubles arising out of the "Grant System." In spite of the Brethren's efforts to make things clear, some of the Hottentots at Shiloh imagined that they were being cheated. By right, they said, all the land for which they paid rent really belonged to them; some, led by a certain Stoffels, broke out into rebellion, and encouraged by a solicitor, they refused to pay either rent or Church dues. To the missionaries only one course was now open. For the sake of law and order they were compelled to go to law; the verdict,

of course, was in their favour; and Stoffels and his associates were expelled. With such mere legal victories, however, the Brethren were far from satisfied. To live on such terms with their people was impossible. At any moment such cases might be repeated; Goshen, in fact, witnessed a similar dispute; and the missionaries now began to feel that the "Grant System" was a mistake. Nor was this "Grant System" the only cause of trouble at Shiloh. By encouraging the natives to settle at Shiloh, the Brethren certainly did shield them from temptation; on the other hand, this system did not produce strong characters; and from the ranks of such people native evangelists could not be expected. At last, however, in 1903, there was a slight improvement; a few Kaffirs were thought fit to preach; and some of these now did good service in Queenstown, Cathcart, King Williamstown, East London, and Johannesburg.

2. TEMBULAND, 1863—1914.

(*a*) *The Origin.* Once more the chief credit must be given to Wilhelmina Stompjes. Sir George Grey, the Governor, paid a visit to Shiloh; there he had a long interview with Wilhelmina; and there and then she begged him to use his influence and have stations built in Tembuland. At his special request, therefore, the Brethren entered what was then an independent country.

(*b*) *The Enemies.* For nearly twenty years the missionaries in Tembuland made rather slow progress; three stations, however—Baziya (1863), Tabase (1873), and Entazana (1873)—were founded; and this slow progress was due to three deep-seated prejudices in the Kaffir character:—(1) At the time when the Mission began, Tembuland was practi-

cally independent; not till after the Basuto War (1880) did it really come under British rule; and the missionaries, who always supported the Government, were regarded by the Kaffir chiefs as enemies of Kaffir national aspirations. (2) The second cause was the Kaffirs' fondness for beer. In order to come into close touch with the people, Samuel Baudert—after the Basuto War—roamed nearly the whole country on horseback; most of the Kaffirs seemed delighted to see him, listened to his sermons in the open air, and then, lighting their pipes, discussed the sermon; and yet, though they shewed some interest in theology, they refused to abandon their drinking-bouts. "No time for a sermon," they would say sometimes, "it's beer night." Baudert called intoxication a sin; the Kaffirs called it a respectable national amusement. (3) But the deadliest enemy in Tembuland was the rite of circumcision. Among the Kaffirs this rite was inseparably associated with certain licentious customs; and yet, at the same time, it was so bound up with the national life that no Kaffir could neglect it without losing his status as a citizen. According to an old Kaffir tradition, no uncircumcised Kaffir could either marry, inherit property, or vote in the tribal councils. For this reason, therefore, the Tembuland Kaffir found himself on the horns of a dilemma. If he became a Christian, he lost his rights as a citizen; and, if he permitted his son to be circumcised, he could not be baptized.

(*c*) *The Remedy.* For some years the most important and influential person in Tembuland was not Baudert, the missionary, but his native Kaffir assistant, Elias; this man proved himself a genuine hero, and preached with great effect to his own tribe, the Ornatti, on the Xentu River; and one chief cause of his commanding influence was that,

at the risk of losing his popularity, he took a very firm stand against national vices and superstitions. Let one memorable example suffice. At one time Elias's father was taken ill; and the local sorceress who attended the case, laid down the law that, if Elias wished his father to recover, he must now, in accordance with an old custom, slay an ox, sprinkle the roof, hearth and lintels with blood, eat a little ox-flesh himself, and hang up juicy morsels about the kraal. For Elias this was a terrible test. He had now to choose between Christ and the sorceress. If he obeyed the sorceress, he would be untrue to his Divine Master; but if he disobeyed, and his father died, his brothers would accuse him of murder. Elias decided for Christ. For ten days he was in a state of agony, crying repeatedly, "Oh! Christ, this is Thy concern; I can see no way out of the difficulty"; and then, when his father recovered, all the relatives felt that, by his faith and courage, Elias had won a glorious victory. The story of Elias is most illuminating. It shows that a Kaffir could not become a Christian without making great sacrifices. On the day when he was baptized, the Kaffir took a firm stand, not only against drink and the abominations connected with circumcision, but also against the powerful witch-doctors; Elias's fine example inspired many others; and thus, at last, in Tembuland, the cause of the Gospel began to flourish. During the next few years the Kaffirs came to Baziya in crowds; and when they were asked the reason, they said: "Our hearts give us no peace. The word of Elias compels us." June, 1895

3. HLUBILAND, 1869—1914.

For the rapid spread of the Gospel in Hlubiland three special reasons may be given. The first was the amazing energy of the pioneer missionary, Henry

Meyer (1869-76), the second was the influence of the Kaffir chief, Zibi, and the third was the courageous attitude adopted both by the native evangelists and by many Kaffir women.

(*a*) *Henry Meyer*, 1869-76. The Mission had an interesting origin. For some years there had lived in Hlubiland, at a place called Ezincuka, *i.e.*, "among the wolves," a powerful and ambitious Kaffir chief named Zibi, who, having been baptized by a Wesleyan missionary, regarded himself as a Christian; and being, like Bowana in British Kaffraria, attacked by numerous enemies, he conceived the sound idea that if the Moravians introduced Christianity, he himself, somehow or other, would be enabled to live in safety. With regard to his original motives, there can be little doubt. In spite of his professed Christianity, he was still the possessor of four wives. His real purpose was political rather than religious. At this time he occupied land guaranteed him by the British Government; Moravian missionaries, reasoned Zibi, always supported the Government; and further, he entertained the hope that those missionaries would distribute plenty of tobacco and pay handsomely for such household goods as they required. With these utilitarian motives, therefore, Zibi asked the Moravian Church to establish a Mission in Hlubiland. The result was entirely different from what he expected. For six years the Mission in Hlubiland was under the management of Henry Meyer, who was both a great worker and a plain speaker; and during those six years he produced a permanent change in Zibi's character. The physical energy of Henry Meyer was remarkable. First, in 1869, he set off from Shiloh, explored the Drakens Berge, arrived on Zibi's territory, and, not finding Zibi at home, surveyed the land from a lonely cave

in the hills; next year, 1870, he set off again, cut a road through the hills, called "Meyer's Pass," built, mostly by his own labour, the first station, Entumasi, and seeing that Zibi attended the services, rebuked him for having four wives; and finally, in 1875, after establishing a strong congregation at Entumasi, he advanced into territory owned by Zibi's enemy, Ludidi, and founded the station Elukolweni (1875). The result was remarkable. At the close of this period both Zibi and his enemy Ludidi had become earnest Christians; Meyer had taught two old enemies to live at peace with each other; and now, being broken down in health, he had to retire from the scene. Ten days before his death he still imagined himself in Zibi's country.

"Give me my stick," he said. "I must cross the hill and preach in Ludidi's kraal."

But the stick felt heavy in his hand.

"No! No!" he cried. "The hill is too high. To-morrow, or the day after. Oh, Zibi! Be faithful to your high calling."†

(*b*) *The Influence of Zibi.* For thirty-four years after Meyer's retirement, Zibi, now a genuine Christian, might be called the leading figure in Hlubiland; one of his relations, John Nakin, was ordained a Moravian minister, and placed in charge of a station; and he himself, at his old home, Ezincuka, held the office of Church Elder.* In personal appearance he was majestic; he was tall, broad, and considered **1876-1910**

†For a short sketch of Henry Meyer see "Periodical Accounts," June, 1888. His importance lies largely in his influence over Kaffir chiefs. By his influence over Zibi, Meyer, indirectly, transformed the character of Zibi's people, and many other chiefs followed Zibi's example.

*But what, the reader may ask, did Zibi do with his four wives? He kept one, and not only gave the others handsome pensions for life, but also provided them with homes.

handsome; and on Sundays he always wore a black coat and trousers, rode up to Church on horseback, marched solemnly up the aisle with his knobby stick in his hand, and sat on a bench, below the pulpit, facing the congregation. He was now both a British patriot and a good Christian. The change in his moral character was fundamental. During the Kaffir War in 1881, Zibi warmly supported the Government; and, in the Boer War (1901), two of his sons fought on the British side. Formerly his chief desire was to obtain good things from the missionary; now his chief desire was to aid the Church; and, therefore, while he himself became a generous subscriber, he often urged others to follow his example. On special occasions, such as Harvest Festivals, Zibi was brilliant. In Kaffraria the Church member has his own special mode of subscribing. Instead of merely laying his gift on a plate, he comes forward to the table, and states, not only how much he is giving, but why he cannot give more. With some of the excuses offered Zibi had little patience. At Ezincuka, for example, he laid £5 on the table; others had the audacity to bring silver; and Zibi, rising in his wrath, announced that nothing less than half-a-sovereign would be accepted. At Tinana he made a similar speech.

"What do you mean," he roared to the givers of silver, "by clattering your miserable buttons on the plate? Is that Kaffir custom? At such times the Kaffir gives of his best. Our best is our bullocks, and I give two of my fattest."

Above all, Zibi took a firm stand on moral matters. He was now a great supporter of education, and of Christian ideals, and frequently he expressed a desire that the Government would prohibit the sale of strong drink in his district. At the close of a baptismal service he would

follow the parents into the vestry, and kissing the child, urge them to train it in the fear of the Lord; in his own district he urged all parents to send their children to the Brethren's Day School; and, knowing the moral dangers connected with circumcision, he drew up an anti-circumcision pledge, and persuaded thirty young men to sign it.

(*c*) *The Kaffir Evangelists and Women.* For patient heroism, however, the palm must be given both to the Evangelists and to those Christian Kaffir women who, in defiance of heathen husbands, asked to be baptized. At Mvenyane (1901) a college for training native preachers was opened; in a few years no fewer than seventy native evangelists were at work, and these evangelists created such a healthy public opinion on moral matters, that many women were encouraged to do likewise. In spite of the influence of Zibi and other chiefs, many of the heathen Kaffirs still regarded their wives as mere chattels; over these wives they claimed undisputed authority; and any woman who disobeyed either her husband or her father, ran the risk of brutal treatment. It was here that the Kaffir women showed their courage. In defiance of heathen husbands and fathers, they sent their children to the day schools, attended the Church, and prayed for fine weather, not to the sorcerer, but to the Christian's God. One typical case may be recorded. For financial reasons a heathen Kaffir wished his daughter to play the harlot; and, when she refused, he began to flog her.

"Will you give in now?" he asked.

"Never!"

The father continued the flogging, the girl remained undaunted, and in despair, the father exclaimed: "Your God is stronger than I."

Chapter VIII.

LABRADOR, 1804—1914.

1. The Stations.

In studying the history of the Moravian Mission to the Eskimos of Labrador, the outstanding fact to remember is that, as the native population has always been small—never reaching more than 1,500—progress in the arithmetical sense has been practically impossible. For many years the Brethren confined their efforts to the three stations founded in the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, Nain, Hopedale, and Okak; then, by founding five more stations—Hebron (1828), Zoar (1864), Ramah (1871), Makkovik (1896), and Killinek (1905)—they obtained command of the whole coast from Makkovik to Cape Chidley; and this chapter, therefore, will take the form, not of a chronological narrative, but rather of a brief description of various methods of work. With regard to the stations, only two more facts need be mentioned. In 1889 Zoar was closed because it was too isolated; in 1908 Ramah was closed for the same reason; and thus, reading from north to south, the stations in 1914 were Killinek, Hebron, Okak, Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik.

2. The Ships.

For over one hundred and forty years the Moravian Church, by means of its own ship, has maintained a regular connexion with Labrador; Admiral Gambier† once declared that the record of these Moravian

†Noted for his gallantry on June 1st, 1794. His ship, the *Defence*, was one of the first to pierce the French line. He was afterwards President of the C.M.S. He was also a great friend of C. I. La Trobe, and took a deep interest in Moravian Missions

ships was unique; and the interesting feature of the story is that while the total number of voyages is over three hundred, while reefs, cross-currents, icebergs, hurricanes, fogs, and tickles have been a constant source of danger, and while some of the ships had strange adventures, no serious accident has occurred. Each year the voyage to and fro has been made; each year valuable goods are landed on the Labrador coast; and in business circles these achievements are considered so remarkable that the Moravian ship is insured at Lloyds' on specially favourable terms. The complete list of Moravian ships, with their chief adventures, is as follows:—

(*a*) *The Jersey Packet* (1770). On her sailed Haven, Drachart, and Jensen to choose the first site.

(*b*) *The Amity* (1771-6). On her second voyage out she called at Newfoundland, and did not reach Labrador till October.

(*c*) *The Good Intent* (1777-9). In 1778 she was captured by a French privateer; then she was re-captured by a British cruiser; and then Louis XVI., King of France, and Benjamin Franklin, American Ambassador in France, both issued passports declaring that the Moravian ship should be unmolested. In the King's passport there was a strange condition; he seems to have had his suspicions about Moravians; and his passport was valid for one year only.

(*d*) *The Amity* (1780-6). The former *Amity* restored to favour; she had no special adventures.

(*e*) *The Harmony* (1787-1802). One moonlight night she was nearly captured by a French

privateer. With this exception her peace was unbroken.

(*f*) *The Resolution* (1803-8). This vessel was twice attacked by a French privateer, and each time she escaped in a storm.

(*g*) *The Hector* (1809). No special adventures.

(*h*) *The Jemima* (1810-1817). In 1811 her sails were frozen and could not be unfurled; in 1816 she was surrounded by icebergs, and remained a prisoner for fifty-nine days; and in 1817, within one hour, she was struck by icebergs several times.

(*i*) *Harmony II.* (1818-31). No special adventures.

(*j*) *Harmony III.* (1832-1860). No special adventures.

(*k*) *Harmony IV.* (1860-1896). No special adventures. This was the first *Harmony* with the figure-head of an angel blowing a trumpet.

(*l*) *Harmony V.* (1901 to present day). For four years—1896-1900—the Moravians, having no ship of their own, simply chartered a vessel; the next ship, *Harmony V.* was the first to possess steam auxiliary power; and the chief advantage of the steam is that, not being quite so much at the mercy of the weather, *Harmony V.* can visit the Labrador coast twice a year. Each year she leaves London early in the summer, visits the stations from July to September, and returns to St. John's; and then, sailing for the second time she lands codfish at St. John's, Newfoundland, and returns to London about Christmas.

It is interesting to note the change of route. For many years the Moravian ship skirted the east coast

of Scotland; the people on the Orkneys would wave their handkerchiefs as she left Stromness; and often, on the return voyage, some missionaries would call at Edinburgh, hold a service on the deck of the ship, and thereby stir up the zeal of Scotch friends of Moravian Missions. Amongst these the most noted was Dr. Chalmers. He took a special interest in Labrador, and hoped that the Brethren would settle in Ungava Bay. During the last few years, however, the ship has first passed through the English Channel; Scotch friends see the little vessel no more; and the interest of the Scotch in the Moravian Missions has weakened. The last point to mention is the annual Thanksgiving Meeting. In London this is generally held in January; in Labrador it is held in June; and there, at every station, the great event is the annual coming of the ship. On the safe arrival of the ship the whole prosperity of the Mission depends. Both to the missionaries and to the Eskimos the *Harmony* is the "Ship of Life."† The village watchman takes his stand on a hill. As soon as he sees the ship in the distance, he lights his beacon; some paddler, knowing the signal, fires his gun; and a hundred voices in the village shout: "The big steamer!" The harbour fills with boats, rifles fire a salute, flags adorn the house roofs, and the Red Ensign is run up the pole and flies above the Mission-house. There, around the headland, the steamer comes, her rigging showing clear against the sky. As the long-awaited ship draws nearer and nearer, and Captain Jackson, once again, is seen standing on the bridge, all the villagers who have not taken to the boats assemble, deeply moved, on the shelving beach; and then, when at last the anchor drops, the clear air rings with the

†Major Hesketh Prichard's expression. See *Daily Mail*, February 17th, 1922.

Hymn of Praise :—" Now thank we all our God."

3. The Trade.

For three reasons, during all these years, the S.F.G. maintained a regular trade with the Eskimos.

1. *For the Sake of the Missionaries.* No missionary could live on blubber, oil, and fish. At each station there was a so-called " store " ; on that store he relied for his daily food ; and that food was brought each year from England by the ship. Instead of receiving an annual salary in cash, each missionary, until quite recently, received £90 credit at the store ; and all the actual cash he saw was £10 pocket money. For the sake, therefore, of the missionaries and their families, the Moravian ship took out each year :—

(*a*) Coal.
(*b*) Tinned meat, tinned fruit, tea, coffee, sugar, bacon, potatoes, and vegetables.
(*c*) A few household medicines.
(*d*) Books and magazines.
(*e*) Letters from home.

For over a century the annual visit of the ship was the missionaries' only connexion with the homeland ; but recently, in the summer months, a mail has run from St. John's.

(2) *For Financial Reasons.* By trading with the Eskimos, the S.F.G., for many years, covered nearly all the expenses of the Mission ; the chief articles bought from the Eskimos, and then sold in London, were seal-oil, cod-liver oil, seal-skin, fox-skin, and carved ivory ; and these articles realized such an excellent price that the Labrador Mission, for over a century, needed no support from general Mission Funds. Meanwhile, however, the S.F.G. pursued a rather singular policy. Instead of acting like Joseph in

Egypt during the seven fat years—instead, *i.e.*, of creating a Reserve Fund—they generously made annual grants to other Moravian causes; no proper provision for the future was made; and, therefore, when prices fell, owing to altered conditions, the S.F.G. found themselves in financial straits. The fall in prices was remarkable. In 1854 seal oil was £54 a ton; in 1904 it was only £14; and in 1908 the S.F.G. confessed that their trade with Labrador no longer paid. Nor was this the end of the S.F.G.'s troubles. At the very time when their receipts were diminishing, their expenses were increasing. In 1905 a new station was built at Killinek; in 1903-4 a hospital was built at Okak; and in 1906 a new law was passed that henceforth each missionary should receive his full salary in cash. Each of these steps increased the expense of the Mission. In 1900 the cost was £3,774; in 1904 it was £5,465; and, therefore, a new arrangement had to be made that, while the S.F.G. supplied the ships and still traded with the natives, all the other expenses of the Mission fell on the Mission Board. Thus did an unforeseen alteration in trade conditions affect the finances, not only of the Labrador Mission, but of Moravian Missions as a whole.

3. *For the Sake of the Eskimos.* By means of the trade the Eskimos received immense advantages; and, therefore, whether it paid or not, it had still to be maintained.

(*a*) In return for his skins, oils, and ivory articles, the Eskimo received English-made forks, knives, guns, powder, and other shooting and fishing requisites.

(*b*) By trading with the S.F.G. the Eskimo was saved the necessity of dealing with other traders. Some of these would probably

have cheated him, and others would have paid him in rum.

(*c*) In Labrador there are sometimes bad fishing seasons. In 1836-7, *e.g.*, the Eskimos had to eat their tent-skins; in 1855-6 many perished of hunger; and at such times, the Moravian "Store" is the people's last resort. On one occasion the missionaries at Okak distributed 70,000 dried fish.

(*d*) By dealing at the "Store" the Eskimo learned to be thrifty; his debts were entered, not only in the store ledger, but also in his own pocket-book; and the business understanding was that, sooner or later, he must pay in full. But this demand was not always strictly enforced; a bad season was always a good excuse; and one year the S.F.G. wrote off £2,500.

(*e*) Further, by means of the "Store" the Eskimo provided for Christmas. As soon as the autumn hunting season was over, all the Eskimos returned to the stations; during the next few weeks the Store was crowded; and every day the store-keeper dealt with keen and eager hagglers. There they stood with their seal-skins, their fox-skins, their seal-oil, their cod-liver oil, and their ivory dolls and canoes; in return they demanded petroleum, meal, peas, soap, aprons, nails, rice, tea, treacle, biscuits, salt-meat, guns, powder, shot, accordions, sewing machines, tobacco, spoons, forks, ribbons, carpets, lanterns, wax candles; and the store-keeper had now to enter on a profound mathematical calculation. For every article in his shop,

and also for every article sold by the Eskimos, there was a definite money value, fixed by the S.F.G.; no actual cash, however, changed hands; and the store-keeper, after consulting his list, had to offer so much petroleum for a fox-skin, and so much rice or treacle for a gallon of oil. His worst customers were the women. No woman ever knew at first what she wanted. First, she handled nearly everything in the shop; then she criticised the bargains made by the men; then she returned home to consult a friend; and then, back in the shop once more, she repeated the performance.

(*f*) Above all, by means of the ship, the Eskimo children were made happy; the *Harmony* always contained hundreds of presents; and these presents were packed in four different boxes. In box one there was baby clothing, to be given to the mother on the day her child was baptized; in box two, school prizes, *i.e.*, books, toys and mittens; in box three, Christmas presents, *i.e.*, scrap-books, dolls, beads, etc.; and in box four, some gifts for the native helpers. For all the widows and orphans, too, some special provision was made. Thus did the *Harmony* supply the needs—physical, intellectual and moral—of all classes in Labrador.

For two simple reasons, however, this trade with the Eskimos caused the S.F.G. much anxiety. The first was connected with the system of management. In 1752, when Erhardt sailed, Zinzendorf had laid down the general principle that no man, at the same

time, should be both a trader and a missionary. If he traded, he must not preach the Gospel; if he preached the Gospel, he must not trade; and the Brethren afterwards made the painful discovery that whether they followed or rejected his advice they had special difficulties to face. If a layman took charge, the trade was mismanaged; and if a missionary took charge, the Eskimos ceased to love him. Each system had its defects; and, therefore, the Brethren changed from one to the other. First (1771-1861) the missionaries had full control; then (1861-1876) the trade was placed under a General Manager, with a layman at the head of each store; then (1876-1898) the missionaries resumed control; then (1898-1906) a layman was appointed as General Manager, while a missionary managed each store; and finally, 1906, the law was laid down that trade and mission should be kept strictly apart. For the former the S.F.G. was responsible; for the latter the Mission Board; and that is the system still in force.

The other cause of trouble was the Brethren's kindness. For some years there existed in the minds of the natives a remarkable delusion, spread first by certain schooner-men, that while the S.F.G. claimed to be a trading concern, it was, in reality, a charity; each article on the *Harmony*, therefore, belonged by right to the natives; no missionary had any right to charge any price whatsoever; and all those who sold goods at the stores were mere robbers and swindlers. At last the danger became so serious that the Mission Secretary (1888) was sent on a visitation; and yet, though he explained the facts of the case, there was still so much suspicion left that, next year, at Hebron, the people even blockaded the school-house and held the missionaries prisoners. By slow degrees

the truth prevailed; the missionaries regained the people's confidence; and the people excused their evil conduct by saying that if they had been more efficiently taught they would not have sinned so deeply. "If you had prayed for us properly," said Nathan, the ringleader, "all these troubles would have been spared you!"

4. THE HOSPITAL, 1904—1914.

For some reason best known to the medical profession, the Eskimos are so constituted that, while they still live on wholesome food, spend most of their time in the open air, and generally develop a powerful muscular system, yet they have no power to resist disease; in their case all the infectious diseases, such as influenza and measles, are nearly always fatal; and the only way to preserve the race from destruction is to shield it from infection.

But that was precisely what was found impossible. During the whole of the nineteenth century Labrador was repeatedly visited by British, French, and American traders; these men introduced influenza, erysipelas, measles, pneumonia and syphilis; and, finally, in 1894, after certain Eskimos had visited the Chicago Exhibition, there broke out, at Nain, a terrible epidemic of typhus. Nor was infection the only cause of trouble. Some of the traders paid in whisky and rum; others sold European food and clothing; and those who succumbed to these temptations became still less able to resist disease.

Formerly, the mothers had nursed their children; now, fed on condensed milk, the children perished untimely. Formerly, Labrador resembled Dartmoor; now Labrador had become a death-trap; and little had been done to remedy the evil. Dr. Grenfell, of the Deep Sea Mission, paid occasional visits; Louis Kaestner administered simple remedies; and

Hettasch, who had studied at Livingstone College, performed minor operations. In spite of all this excellent work, the situation in Labrador was desperate. Epidemics were now more common than ever; sanitation was unknown; and the population had dwindled to 1,200.

During the winter of 1903-4, therefore, the Brethren built a small hospital at Okak; Dr. and Mrs. S. K. Hutton were placed in charge; and during their eight years in Labrador, Dr. Hutton not only gained the confidence of the people, to whom he was known as "Our Samuel," but also succeeded in introducing several necessary reforms. His work was partly medical and partly hygienic. During the first seven months he paid over a thousand visits and dealt with 137 patients at the hospital. The amount of disease was enormous. At Okak there was a bad form of influenza; at Hebron typhus; at Nain and Hopedale pneumonia. In due time Dr. Hutton saw every man and woman on the coast. In the winter he generally used a dog-sledge; in the summer, after 1908, he used a motor-boat, the *Northern Star*; and visiting the people in their huts, he obtained such a knowledge of Eskimo life that his book, "Among the Eskimos of Labrador," written after he was compelled to retire, may be described as a classic.†

But Dr. Hutton was no mere medical practitioner; his main purpose was to enlighten the people; and, therefore, while he urged the men to build larger houses of wood and turf, he also carefully instructed the women to keep them clean, not to

†On the value of Dr. Hutton's work, Dr. W. G. Grenfell wrote as follows: "Dr. Hutton has really done wonders, and a well-known Boston surgeon, who is with me for the summer, was very much surprised to know what serious operations the doctor had undertaken single-handed and yet successfully."—"Periodical Accounts," March, 1908, p. 12.

hide refuse under the bed, and always to remember to scald their feeding-bottles. His main policy was based on scientific principles. Let the Eskimo, he said, remain an Eskimo; let him eat his Eskimo food, wear his Eskimo dress, and hunt and fish like his forefathers; and, above all, let no Eskimo be tempted to attend Exhibitions, such as those held at Chicago, Berlin and Paris. As a result of this latter practice, he said, many an Eskimo had already suffered incalculable damage. Some had become immoral; immorality caused syphilis; and syphilis, if unchecked, might soon exterminate the nation. In all these schemes of reform Dr. Hutton was warmly supported by Sir William MacGregor, the Governor of Newfoundland; some of the Eskimos acted on the doctor's advice, and before he left he was able to report a slight decline in the death-rate.

5. THE SETTLERS, 1851—1914.

For the special benefit of English settlers living on the strip of coast south of Hopedale, and at the request of one Smith, a Hudson's Bay Company official, the Brethren, in 1851, began holding services at Rigolette; then, for a brief period, James O'Hara acted as authorised missionary to the settlers; and finally, in 1895, at the special request of James Wilson, a Hudson's Bay Company factor, they founded a proper station named Makkovik. In spite of the fact that the settlers were English, this work was genuine missionary work. Most of the settlers could neither read nor write; many, of course, had married Eskimo women; and both the pure English and the half-breeds were morally inferior to the Eskimos. At Hopedale, the Brethren opened a boarding-school, where a few settlers' children were educated; and English services were held in the Church

for visiting schooner-men. But this work was not an unmixed blessing. In return for the Brethren's favours, some of the schooner-men became good Christians; others, however, taught the Eskimos to gamble; and the local Church Elders, in 1903, had to pass special laws to check the evil.

6. THE FRUIT.

Among the English visitors to Labrador, the most distinguished was the late Major Hesketh Prichard, F.R.G.S., author of "Through Trackless Labrador" and of "The Adventures of Don Q"; and, giving vent to his enthusiasm in the columns of *Chambers' Journal*,† Major Prichard asserted that the coast of Labrador was, on the whole, the most God-fearing coast he had ever visited. This result, he said, had been produced, partly by the Moravian Church and partly by the Deep Sea Mission; and the purpose of this short section is simply to show in what sense and to what extent, as far as the Eskimos are concerned, Mr. Prichard's statement is justified. Let us not regard the Eskimo as a dull person. By nature he is still argumentative, proud, choleric, affectionate, sensual, humorous; charming varieties of character exist as much as in Shakespeare's plays; and those Eskimos who have travelled abroad—even those who have seen Chicago and Paris—maintain that lonely Labrador is the finest country in the world. Christianity has not made them Europeans. Christianity has made them Christian Eskimos.

(1) First, then, the Eskimos honour God and keep Sunday holy. With the exception of a few heathen at Killinek, the Eskimos of Labrador are now genuine Christians; most of them would

†Seventh Series, Vol. I., August 5th and 12th, 1911. "Heroes of the Labrador."

probably pass an examination in the four Gospels; and many, by hearing the Bible read at week-night meetings, have acquired a knowledge of its contents which would put some divinity students to shame. In the summer the Eskimos are away hunting; in the winter they reside at the stations; and the Church, on a winter Sunday morning, is always crowded. At nine a.m. there is the Church Litany; at ten a public service, with sermon; in the afternoon a missionary address; and in the evening a singing meeting. Most of the Eskimos are attentive listeners; only occasionally someone sleeps during the sermon; and some even take notes and discuss the subject. In musical matters they maintain a high standard. Formerly, in their heathen days, they could merely howl. Now they revel in Moravian Chorales. Both old and young sing correctly in parts; Nain and Okak possess fine brass bands; and some have mastered the violin and 'cello. At most of the services an Eskimo plays the harmonium; blind Jeremiah, of Okak, rendered classical selections; and Nathaniel, a schoolmaster at Nain, composed an anthem. Nor is music confined to religious worship. On his journeys Dr. Hutton often heard singing in the huts. Patients sang in the hospital; drivers sang on their sledges; fishermen sang in their boats; and villagers sped the parting guest with "God be with you till we meet again."

(2) Again, the Eskimos have learned the art of self-government. For practical purposes, Labrador may be described as a Christian Theocracy. As the Jews revered the law of Moses, so the Eskimos revere the Bible; and taking the Bible as their Statute Book, they assume that whatever is there forbidden is wicked. Each congregation elects a Committee of Elders; these Elders keep law and order in the village; and magistrates and policemen are

not required. No murders or thefts are now committed; quarrels are settled, not in a law court, but by the missionary or Elders; and the missionaries can retire to rest without locking their doors.

(3) Again, the Eskimos are now all total abstainers. For this fact we must give the credit, partly to the Government for forbidding the sale of liquor, partly to the missionaries who inspired the Government, and partly to the Eskimo Elders at Okak. In 1907 certain Eskimos made some home-brewed beer; the Eskimo Elders heard about the enormity; and so irresistible was their influence that all the kegs were broken open and all the liquor poured out on the snow.

(4) Again, the Eskimos have learned to take some interest in literature, science, and general knowledge. At the day schools the children learn not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but also a little geography and book-keeping. Bible lessons are systematically given; other popular classics are "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Christy's Old Organ," and "Jessica's First Prayer"; and Bishop Martin, the Superintendent of the Mission, produces an Annual Register entitled "Aglait Illunainortut," *i.e.*, "Intelligence for Everyone," and containing a brief account of the main political events of the day.

(5) Again, the Eskimos, though civilised and Christian, are still genuine Eskimos. In spite of the pernicious influence of certain traders, the Eskimos eat the same kind of food and wear the same kind of dress, as their forefathers. Still, as of old, they ply the kayak, drive the sledge-dogs, lance the seal, and trap the fox; still, as of old, the patient women, so that their husbands may have good boots, chew shoe-leather all day; and still, as of old, the

fearless boys slide down the snow-clad hills, and punt on the broken ice.

(6) Above all, the Eskimos of Labrador have learned to understand the deep meaning of Christmas. Dr. S. K. Hutton once said that a Labrador Christmas is a good remedy for pessimism. Some years ago he described such a Christmas in the *Pall Mall Magazine;* and the best way to understand the Eskimos is to use our imaginations a little and spend a Christmas in their company. The scene opens about a week before Christmas. The huntsmen are home from the hills; the bandsmen are practising carols; the boys are dragging logs across the snow; and the women, inside their houses, are scrubbing the floor, dusting the harmonium, and polishing the pictures on the wall.

On December 23rd the final preparations are made. In the store the husband drives his bargain. For himself he obtains some tobacco, notepaper and envelopes; for his wife and girls some aprons and ribbons; for his boys mouth-organs, hammers and saws; for his table, tea, molasses, rice, peas and biscuits; for his Christmas tree some toys and lanterns. Meanwhile, his wife has been busy in the hut. On the shelf stand her cups, glasses and ornaments; the floor is strewn with red sand; and in one corner stands the "Bethlehem."

On Christmas Eve, at four o'clock, the whole village meets in the Church for the Christmas Lovefeast. Along the walls shine rows of lighted candles. The prevailing colour is white. The walls are white as snow; the people wear white silla-paks; and the missionaries wear white seal-skin coats. In the front are the children; at the back the parents; and in the middle, the infirm and aged, seated on reindeer skins. The opening hymn is sung; the story of the birth of Christ is read; and the choir

and orchestra render a Christmas anthem. At the close of the service a church official enters bearing candles placed in turnips; these candles the children place on their biscuits; and all now wend their way home rejoicing. In the evening the adults visit each other; Christmas trees are criticised and admired; and the chief topic of discussion is who has constructed the most beautiful "Bethlehem."

On Christmas Day every hour is fully occupied. In the morning there is public worship; in the afternoon the missionaries visit the people; and in the evening the people return the compliment. At last the day closes, and quiet reigns in the village. For the first time the missionary and his wife can think a little about their own affairs, and wistfully their minds turn to children far away at school in the Homeland. But to the Eskimos Christmas brings joy unalloyed. The Eskimos have their own name for Christmas Day. They call it simply "His Birthday"; and everybody knows whose birthday is meant. "On this day many years ago," they say, "Jesus the Mighty became as poor as an Eskimo."†

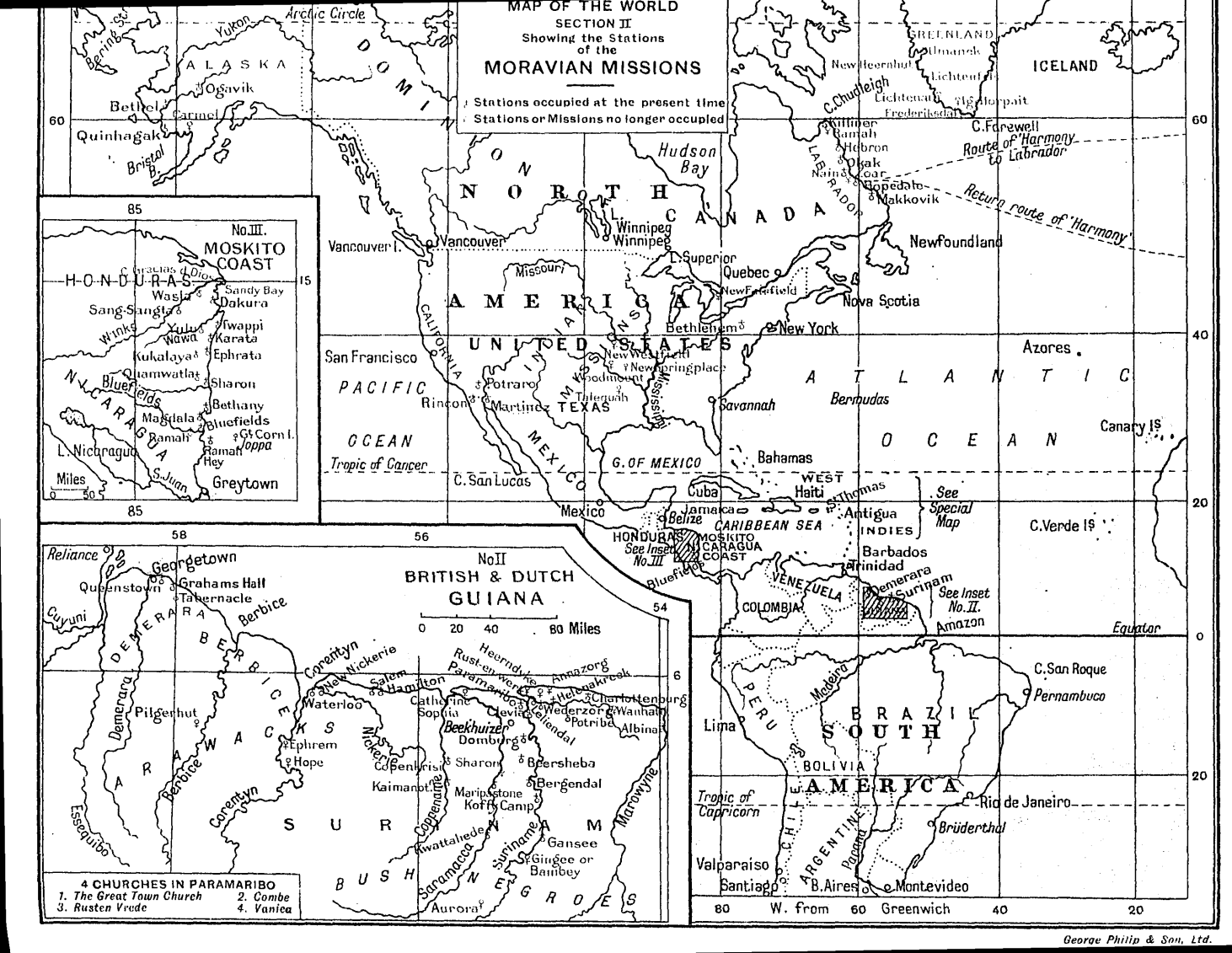
†**An exploded legend.** In his recent volume, "A Labrador Doctor" (Hodder & Stoughton), p. 90, Dr. W. T. Grenfell repeats as a fact the old legend that "as the Eskimos had never seen a lamb or a sheep, either alive or in a picture, the Moravians, in order to offer them an intelligible and appealing simile, had most wisely substituted the kolik, or white seal, for the phrase 'the Lamb of God.'" Dr. Grenfell is quite mistaken. There is not one word of truth in the story. The Moravian missionaries solved the problem by showing a picture of a lamb; and the Eskimo expression used—"Gudeb Saugarsunga"—means "God, His Lamb." See "Periodical Accounts," December, 1893, p. 221. The Eskimo word for sheep is saugak; for lamb, saugarsik; and for seal, puije. See Friedrich Erdmann's *Eskimo* Dictionary.

BOOK III.

THE MODERN ADVANCE, 1848—1914.

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	NICARAGUA, 1849-1914	321
2.	VICTORIA, 1849-1905	346
3.	WESTERN TIBET, 1853-1914	357
4.	THE LEPER HOME AT JERUSALEM, 1867-1914	374
5.	DEMERARA, 1878-1914	388
6.	ALASKA, 1885-1914	394
7.	CALIFORNIA, 1889-1914	408
8.	NORTH QUEENSLAND, 1891-1914	416
9.	EAST CENTRAL AFRICA: NYASSA, 1891-1914	437
10.	EAST CENTRAL AFRICA: UNYAMWEZI, 1898-1914	452

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—For the special causes leading to the Modern Advance, see Book IV., Chapter II., p. 476.



George Philip & Son, Ltd.

Chapter I.

NICARAGUA, 1849—1914.

1. The Bluefields Experiment, 1849—1855.

Let us first understand the political situation. For nearly two hundred years before the first Moravian missionaries arrived, the little independent kingdom of Moskito—ruled by a King or Chief residing at Bluefields, inhabited chiefly by Moskito Indians, and bounded on the north by the Wanks River, on the west by the Gold Field Hills, on the south by the San Juan, and on the east by the Caribbean Sea—had managed to maintain its independence, not because it possessed a powerful army, but because it was under the special protection of Great Britain. By treaty, in 1655, Moskito became a British Protectorate; by another treaty, in 1720, some kind of alliance was formed between the King of Moskito and the Governor of Jamaica; and then, to prove that she was as good as her word, Great Britain, in 1730, established three small military settlements at Cape Gracias-a-Dios, Bluefields, and the mouth of the Black River. At length Great Britain considered it necessary to take still stronger measures. In the year 1836 Nicaragua captured Greytown, a Moskito town a few miles south of Bluefields; five years later Colonel MacDonald, Governor of British Honduras, re-captured Greytown and restored it to Moskito; and when Nicaragua protested, Great Britain politely, but firmly, informed her that she would maintain the integrity of Moskito, not only against Nicaragua, but against any other power that had the audacity to attack her. The result was natural. The more Great Britain did for Moskito, the more popular were Britons in the country,

and Queen Victoria was called by the people the "Mother of the Indians." At Bluefields, the capital, resided the British Consul; Moskito Kings were often crowned in the presence of British officials at Belize, in British Honduras; and now one King, Robert Charles Frederick (1824-1842), showed his gratitude in a very strange manner. For some reason which has never been fully explained, this King seems to have been under the impression that Great Britain was a teetotal country; he himself, though fond of the bottle, desired to see his subjects total abstainers; and, thinking that if a few Britons would settle in Moskito, they would teach his people the dangers of mischla, he granted a small parcel of ground to two British officers, Henry Willock and Arthur Alexander.
1841 His conduct was much discussed. Some said that he was mad; others that he was drunk; and others that he shewed the wisdom of Solomon. The two officers were in a quandary. In order not to offend the King, they accepted his gift; but, having no capital to work it, they determined to sell it. The result was unexpected. First they tried, but in vain, to find purchasers in England; then they offered it to two German noblemen, Charles of Prussia and the Prince of Schönberg-Waldenburg; and the latter, who had long been a friend of Moravian Missions, suggested to the Moravian Mission Board that the time had come for a Mission to the Moskito Indians. In response to this suggestion, the Mission Board asked two Jamaica missionaries, Andrew Reinke and Henry Pfeiffer, to make preliminary inquiries. Once more British officials played an important part in the transactions. Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, gave the two missionaries a letter of introduction.
1847 At Bluefields (April 18th, 1847) they had a most encouraging reception. Patrick Walker, the British Consul, promised to support the Mission; Fawcett, an

Anglican clergyman, found them a lodging; and the King of Moskito, George Frederick (1842-1865), offered land for a Church, and begged that a Mission might be established forthwith. Next year (1848) there met at Herrnhut a General Moravian Synod; by that Synod a Mission to Moskito was authorised; and early in 1849 (March 14th) Pfeiffer, accompanied by two colleagues, arrived once more at Bluefields.

The campaign began with a mistake in policy. For three or four years Henry Pfeiffer showed, 1849
that while he had been a good pastor in Jamaica, he was not an ideal missionary pioneer; and acting as though he were still in a Christian country, where people were in the habit of attending Church, he devoted his main attention to the Royal Family, confined his efforts to Bluefields, used the Court-house for Sunday services, and arranged, for the benefit of the citizens, an elaborate series of meetings. On Sundays there were at least three services—public worship, an inquirers' meeting, and a homily; on Monday evening a prayer meeting; on Tuesday an address; on Friday a Bible exposition; and on Saturday a singing meeting. For this policy Pfeiffer could give a good reason. He was acting like some of the earliest preachers in England; his main hopes seem to have rested on the Royal Family; and to judge from his reports, he appears to have thought that if he could convert the Royal Family the rest of the people would soon follow their example. Among Pfeiffer's best supporters was Christie, the British Consul, and, acting on Christie's advice, Pfeiffer gave the King two hours' daily instruction, and took in his three sisters as boarders. At first his policy seemed justified. For some months the King himself not only attended the services, but even joined a Sunday School class; one of his sisters acted as monitor; and Pfeiffer, therefore, fondly hoped that

in a few months the Royal Family would adopt the Christian religion.

For the following reasons, however, Pfeiffer had little success :—

(*a*) The King was a weak and disappointing character. For a few weeks he would be both pious and sober; then he would turn to the bottle again; and his people, observing his conduct, drew their own conclusions. "I notice," said an Indian to Pfeiffer, "that those who attend your Church are no better than those who stay at home."

(*b*) By conducting the services in English, which, at first, of course, he was compelled to do, Pfeiffer gave the people the impression that he was preaching about a foreign God. "The English," said the Indians, "have a book which speaks of God, and, therefore, they know more of God than we do. God loves the English only; He takes no notice of the Indians."

(*c*) At Bluefields most of the inhabitants were either Negroes or Creoles; these Negroes and Creoles despised the Indians; and the Indians refused to attend a Church where, in all probability, they would be insulted. For this simple reason, therefore, Pfeiffer had little influence over the Indians. His first convert, Mary Waters, was a negress; and the only Indian whom he baptized was the Princess Matilda (June 6th, 1855).

(*d*) By his Christian ideals of conduct Pfeiffer disgusted the Indians. At Christmas, each year, they amused themselves by dancing and drinking; Pfeiffer even saw them lying

drunk in the street; and the more he rebuked them, the more they hated him.

(*e*) By distributing medicines to the sick, Pfeiffer aroused the hostility of the soukias, or medicine men. Let one example suffice. At one time, when measles broke out, a mother brought her child to Pfeiffer for treatment. As the mother took his advice, the child began to recover; then a soukia arrived on the scene and washed the patient in some native concoction; and then, when the child died, the soukia denounced Pfeiffer as a murderer.

(*f*) By his overbearing conduct Pfeiffer offended his two colleagues; the Mission Board, hearing about the trouble, sent one of their members to investigate; and, finally, the Board decided that Pfeiffer had better retire.

Let us not, however, criticise Pfeiffer too severely. In due time he discovered his own mistake. Four times he himself visited English Bank and the Pearl Lagoon; there he not only preached to the Indians, but, taking the King with him, chose a site for a church; and finally, he himself suggested that, if the missionaries expected any success, they must no longer remain at Bluefields, but advance steadily northwards along the coast.

Meanwhile, a most important political event had occurred. At the time when Pfeiffer arrived at Bluefields, Moskito was still a British Protectorate; now, by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) Great Britain abandoned her rôle of protector; and henceforward, though still independent, Moskito had to fight her own battles. In the past the King of Moskito, supported by British prestige, had a certain

1850

amount of authority; now he was little more than a figure-head. In the past he had ruled over a more or less united kingdom; now he was the titular monarch of several independent tribes; and the Brethren very soon discovered that no such thing as a real government existed. Each tribe managed its own affairs; each tribe, if it obeyed any one, obeyed its own chief; and each tribe was still untouched by the Gospel. Along the coast lived the Moskito Indians, who, having Negro blood in their veins, excelled their neighbours both in physical and in intellectual vigour; among the western hills, the Sumus; on the island of Ramah Key, the Ramahs; and, dotted about in small groups, the Conkras, Woolwas, Towkas, Tongulas, Payas, and Caribs.

Let us now take a brief glance at these people. At the time when the first Brethren arrived, all the Indians in Moskito were as heathen, as benighted, as wretched, and as superstitious as the Bush Negroes of Surinam.

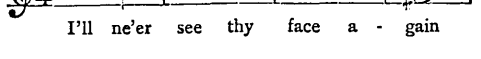
In matters industrial, the people were still very primitive. As the land was remarkably fertile, most of the men were lazy; day after day they lounged in hammocks, smoking, gossiping, telling stories, and exclaiming "All lies, but lovely all the same"; and while they were splendid swimmers, paddlers, riders, fish-hunters, and marksmen, they had no idea of the meaning of agriculture. Polygamy was still the usual practice. Among the Moskitos each wife had a separate home, among the Sumus they all lived under one roof; and the curious feature in every household was that, while the husband lived with his mother-in-law, he addressed her, not directly, face to face, but by making remarks to the children or chickens. For this custom, said the Sumu Indians, there was a religious reason. In the beginning two

Gods—Ulnibapot, the sun, and Udo, the moon—created the heaven and the earth. Each of these gods married a woman; each had a mother-in-law; and each, finding that mother-in-law a nuisance, punished her, at stated seasons, by going into eclipse. Mothers-in-law were a trouble even in heaven; mothers-in-law caused eclipses; and no self-respecting man could address such contemptible creatures.

In the Indian religion the chief feature was the worship of evil spirits. Above all other gods, some said, there was one Supreme Spirit, Won Aisa, *i.e.*, "Our Father"; this Supreme Spirit, however, did not interfere in human affairs; and the real actors in everyday life were Waiwin Tara, the land spirit; Liwa Tara, the water spirit; Prakahu, the air spirit; and a vast host of evil spirits, or Ulassa. Each of these was man's malignant enemy. Waiwin caused the drought; Liwa upset the canoes and drove away fish; Prakahu raised the hurricanes; and the Ulassa caused diseases. Against these dreadful Ulassa only the soukias, or sorcerers, had any power. Among the Moskitos, the soukia used two methods. The first was the whistling cure. With his hammock slung up near the patient's bed, he first whistled a luring air; then he groaned, sighed and stormed; and then, rushing forward with his hand over a calabash, he shouted triumphantly, "I've got him," and explained that he had just caught the evil spirit. For this feat he charged a fee varying from 10s. to £4; and, money not being much used, the fee was paid in kind. The other cure was the water-cure. By blowing at a trough of water through a bamboo pipe, the soukia endowed it with medicinal powers; and, if the patient bathed therein, he was almost certain to receive some benefit. Among the Sumus, the soukia used three cotton dolls. The first was Asampalka, the evil

spirit, the second, Asampalka's councillor, and the third, Asampalka's jailer. Each of these two last dolls was sprinkled with blood; each, being now appeased, came to the patient's rescue; and the jailer, acting on the councillor's advice, seized on Asampalka and carried him off. In cases of failure, the soukia had always the same answer. Some human enemy had caused the death, and that enemy must forthwith be slain. Thus did the soukias, as in Surinam, create a reign of terror.

Amid these terrors the Indians derived some consolation from their belief in immortality; and for that belief they gave a beautiful reason. Each man, after death, they said, had a long and dangerous journey before him. For this reason his clothes and weapons were generally buried with him; above his grave was a little wooden house, well-stocked with food; and the women chanted the death-wail, "Alas! I'll never see your face again."† But that sentence referred to this world only. According to a widespread Indian legend, there lived, many years ago, a certain man who, being haunted by the ghost of his wife, determined to seek her in the next world; and so, leaving his body to hang on a tree, he crossed a broad lagoon on the back of a frog, escaped the cruel teeth of some raging dogs, and, passing safely between two trees which crushed all murderers to death, reached the bright green fields of the heavenly land. There he saw splendid horses roaming among the trees; there he also saw the goddess Japtimisire, Queen of the Spiritual World. Among those seated on her lap was his wife. Japtimisire, however, told him

† 

that he had come too soon, and being rowed back by spirits in a barrel, he re-crossed the lagoon, re-entered his body, and recounted his adventures.

2. THE FIRST ADVANCE, 1855—1880.

For the next twenty-five years the Brethren, while keeping Bluefields as their headquarters, made a systematic attempt to push northwards along the coast; thereby they came into close touch with the Indians, and one of their most delightful discoveries was that while the Indians were by nature crafty, vindictive, superstitious and fond of mischla, yet, on the other hand, they had a sense of gratitude, responded quickly to kindness, and could even be touched to finer spiritual issues.

The first station was at Pearl Lagoon, and received 1855
the name Magdala. The first missionary here was Jean Paul Jürgensen, a Dane. With his wife, twelve shillings in his pocket, and a piece of salt-beef, he, on June 12th, 1855, arrived on the scene; three days later there broke out an epidemic of cholera; and Jürgensen rendered such splendid medical service, boldly visiting all the patients and serving out useful drugs, that in less than a month the people adored him, attended his services in crowds, and even began conducting family prayers. The station soon became a hive of activity. There, assisted by Peter Blair, an efficient Negro assistant, Grunewald prepared the first Moskito Dictionary; there, one memorable Christmas morning, the people roused the missionary at 4 a.m. and compelled him to rise from his bed and conduct a service; and there, under Augustus Martin, the converts learned to teach in the Sunday School, visit the sick, settle disputes, and guide the missionary on his journeys to the little outlying stations at Klukumlaya, Reitapura, Brown Bank, and Canon Bank. With the

conduct of the Magdala Christians, Martin was positively charmed. In 1875 there was a terrible hurricane, whereby the station was destroyed. Forthwith, by free-will labour, the converts re-built the Church; those who had food shared at once with the destitute; and one night, Mrs. Garth, a convert, knocking at the missionary's door, offered him a share of her cassava.

"But why," asked Martin, "have you brought it by night?"

"Because if I had brought it in the day-time the others would have thought I was rich. But the truth is my harvest is destroyed; only a little is left; and some of that little is for you."

1860 The second station was named Ephrata. At this place Augustus Martin not only preached the Gospel, but also acted as magistrate, kept a provision "store," and collected money for the Government; and thereby he discovered how the Indians tested the truth of a religion. The Indian test was entirely practical. Good religions, they said, produced good characters; bad religions produced bad characters; and as the Christians at Ephrata were honest, the Christian religion must be true. For this reason, among others, Ephrata soon became a busy centre; three more stations, Bethany (1864), Kukulaya (1871) and Karata (1875), were founded; and out-preaching places were also established at Layasiksa, Tapunlaya, Bawa Baer, Wounta, and Walpasiksa. Nor was this the whole of the Brethren's activities. For five years (1869-74) the missionaries made great use of a small schooner, the *Messenger of Peace*, presented by certain young people in the American Province; Blair and Kandler visited fifty places along the coast; and these journeys were only abandoned because, in 1874, the schooner was wrecked.

3. THE HAPPY ISLAND, 1858—1878.

Meanwhile a wonderful series of events had occurred. For the long period of twenty years Jean Paul Jürgensen devoted all his energies to the Indians on the island of Ramah Key; and during those years he turned a hell of iniquity into a paradise of joy. At first the people seemed hopeless. The men drank rum and lounged in hammocks, while the women did all the hard work; the boys ran naked; and the baby girls were often murdered. For the first few days after his arrival Jürgensen made his abode in an Indian hut. Pigs grunted under the floor; vermin attacked him in his bed; and the people, regarding him as an enemy, not only refused to sell him fish and fruit, but sneered when he began to build his house.

"What!" said one huge idler, "you working?"

"Yes," replied Jürgensen, "for this purpose God has given us hands; and these hands of mine shall teach you a wholesome lesson."

Let us now see how Jürgensen kept his promise. He adopted three methods of work.

(*a*) *Trade Regulations.* For some years the Ramah Key Indians had been in the habit of selling their pork at Bluefields, where, having spent their money in drink, they ran up bills at the grocers' shops; and now, with the consent of the Indians themselves, Jürgensen interviewed the Bluefields tradesmen and persuaded them to pay for their pork in goods. In eight years he freed the island from debt. Meanwhile, he himself opened a shop in the island; there, in return for fish and pork, he supplied the people's needs; and further, having discovered oil on the island, he taught the natives how to extract it, sold it at Greytown, and paid them the value in goods. His success was marvellous. In 1857 the

Ramah Key Indians were steadily being ruined by drink and debt; by 1877 they were sober and prosperous; and all the natives now saw that Jürgensen was their best friend.

(*b*) *Law and Order.* In spite of the fact that, technically speaking, Ramah Key belonged to the kingdom of Moskito, Jürgensen, with the King's permission, made the island independent; and, having won the goodwill of the people, he made such laws as he thought fit. No Indians from the coast might live on the island; no soukias were allowed to practise; no intoxicating liquor was made; no boat might put to sea on Sundays; no one might leave the island without his permission; and no one might visit the island without a satisfactory reason. With the last regulation the people were charmed. "Ah! papa Johnson," they said, "we are happy now. We are no longer beaten by the Moskito men."

(*c*) *Education.* As Mr. and Mrs. Jürgensen had no children, they were able to devote much time to the children of the island. The language in Ramah Key was English. Jürgensen taught the children in his own house. Mrs. Jürgenson visited the huts, and taught the mothers how to keep them tidy and how to take care of their babies; and thus this dutiful couple acted as father and mother to the whole island. Among the rising generation, Jürgensen discovered many beautiful characters; and some of these, in their love for Christ, resembled St. Bernard. With tears in his eyes, the old man, after his retirement to Denmark, would tell how James died, exclaiming, "Look, Jesus is there;" how Benjamin heard a strange voice saying, "Turn to God and you will live another year;" and how Antoinette, awaking from a trance, spoke like a

messenger from heaven. Above all, Jürgensen loved to tell the story of Tabitha. "No one," he said, "excelled her in beauty of character. Her speech was like a heavenly song, and her face as the face of an angel."

At length, one memorable Easter Sunday, hearing that Tabitha was ill, he called to see her.

"Well, Tabitha," he asked, "what have you to say to me?"

"Papa," she answered, "I am going home. I am glad that soon I shall see my Saviour and live with Him for ever."

But Jürgensen did not encourage morbid thoughts.

"My child," he said, "are you not afraid to die?"

"No," she replied, "look at the beautiful white robe my Saviour has given me."

"I cannot see it. What is it like?"

"It is washed in the blood He shed on Calvary."

In spite of Jürgensen's medical efforts, Tabitha grew steadily worse. Around her couch the people stood weeping; Tabitha begged them not to weep, assuring them that she was happy; and then, after begging their forgiveness and bidding them all good-bye, she asked Mr. and Mrs. Jürgensen to come a little closer.

"I thank you both," she said, "for all your kindness."

Let one more picture linger in the memory. For some years after Jürgensen's retirement, his successor made a practice of giving the Ramah Key Indians an annual day excursion to the coast; and the scene, as they rowed home in the evening, recalls a line in Shakespeare.† As the sun descended beyond the Teluca mountains, making a path of trembling gold on the sea, the boat was nearing the converts'

† "The setting sun, with music at the close."

island home; and the Indians, led by their teacher, sang:—

"Abide with me, fast falls the eventide."

4. THE GREAT REVIVAL, 1881—1896.

1881-96 For fifteen years the Moskito Coast was the scene of the most wonderful revival in the history of Moravian Missions; and all the missionaries thankfully recognised that the movement, for which they had made no special preparations, was due to the influence of the Holy Ghost. The first spark took fire at Magdala. As Mary Downs, a Creole girl, was dressing a corpse for burial she was suddenly so deeply convicted of sin that her whole body seemed paralyzed; and then, after lying three days both stiff and unconscious, she awoke, repented, refused food, and finally, by the aid of Peter Blair, resumed her meals and became a happy Christian. And then, in the Church, about six months later, one Sunday afternoon, a strange incident occurred. As the closing hymn was being sung, a strange thrill seized the people, and some men began to pray aloud. "I shall never forget that scene," said Missionary Piper. For some moments the excitement was intense. Some fell on their knees or raised their hands; some cried out "Have mercy!" and others "Praise God!"; and then all fell on their knees and prayed aloud. For the sake of order, Piper gave out a hymn. At length an old Indian urged all to follow Christ; and the people, after singing and prayer, went quietly home.

In a few hours the whole of Magdala was stirred. For some days there was singing and praying in every house; and once a crowd knocked up Peter Blair at midnight.

"Come to the Church," they said, "and hold a

prayer meeting. The people are there, and are waiting for the Second Coming."

But Peter Blair did not encourage midnight ravings. "Tell the people," he said, "that I'm always ready for the Second Coming. The Lord will accept me even if He finds me in bed. And I can't get up just now."

A still greater marvel followed. At the very time when Mary Downs was converted at Magdala, a similar movement began at Bluefields; then Martin reported what he had seen at Magdala; and, one Sunday, in the Bluefields Church, another strange scene was witnessed. Instead of sitting quietly in their seats, the young women, just before the service, took off their black belts, and when Martin arrived they were undoing their boots.

"What is the meaning of this?" said Martin.

"We removed our belts," they said, "because we wished to be all in white, as a symbol of holiness; and now we are taking off our boots because we are on holy ground."

At Martin's command the belts were re-buckled, and the service proceeded as usual. As he strolled by his house a few hours later, an excited messenger ran up, and Martin, going out to the town, found a house filled with inquirers. On Monday every house in Bluefields was stirred; all classes, white, brown, black, were equally affected; the movement ran like fire along the coast; and Martin, though he did not like the simile, compared it to an epidemic. For some weeks the converts, like those in Jamaica, were subject to horrible convulsions; some sweated, trembled, groaned, refused all food, and drummed their heels on the floor; and not till they had found forgiveness did they recover their senses. Sometimes the victim lay unconscious for hours or days; and one woman was even attacked at her wedding,

and falling backwards, wriggled out of the Church. In some houses the seekers had visions and dreams; in others divine revelations; and in one a man was said to have spoken with tongues.

Amid scenes like these the Brethren preserved their calm. In spite of the excesses, they believed that the revival was real; and, doing their best to discourage folly, they referred their seekers to the plain teaching of Scripture. For this reason, among others, the revival did untold good; and all along the coast the Brethren noted fruits of the Spirit. For the first time in the history of Central America thousands of Indians confessed that they were sinners, and from that confession many virtues sprang. At Magdala all the publicans but one closed their saloons. At Dakura an old woman smashed all the rum barrels, and not a man in the village dared to stop her. At Karata even the soukias repented, confessed that they had been impostors, and either burned or buried their implements, and at Sandy Bay the people complained that the sermons were too short. At some places the people turned sick at the smell of drink; at others, while the elders clamoured for the Bible, the children roamed the streets singing hymns; and far away in the woodland villages, where the sound of the Gospel had never been heard, the poor penitents climbed the trees, lay all night on the branches, and started early in the morning for the nearest mission station.

The effect of the movement was immense. For fifteen years the Brethren—sometimes by boat and sometimes on horseback—were seeking sinners from Bluefields to Cape Gracias-a-Dios; and, taking the Gospel tide at the flood, they founded stations at Quamwatla and Yulu (1884), Sharon and Twappi (1886), Dakura (1893), Wasla and Sandy Bay (1896). At some places their experiences were of

marvellous interest. At Quamwatla (*i.e.*, Turkey-cock House) they were among the Sumu Indians; and here they heard the strange story of Samuel Hall. For two months (October to December, 1871) this young man, an independent worker from Bristol, took the usual steps towards the founding of a station, and when he died his widow gave £1,000 to the Mission on condition that Quamwatla was made a Moravian station. As several natives died soon afterwards, the survivors, thinking the village possessed, deserted it, and when Siebörger arrived on the scene (1878) he found nothing but graves. Above each grave was a wooden kennel, containing guns and arms for the departed; and, covered with bushwood, there was a marble tombstone in memory of Samuel Hall. At last the revival touched the Quamwatla people, living beside a lake in the forest; and the conduct of the trembling sinners was quite original. In solemn council, they passed two strange resolutions; first, that they would have one grand final carouse, and then that they would become total abstainers and visit Ephrata. The carouse was held, the visit to Ephrata was paid, the natives returned to their village, and there the Brethren erected the "Church beside a Grave."

He had gone as a Son of Truth,
  And with diligent hand and free
He scattered the grain in the far-off land
  Beside the Mexican Sea.
But hard was the soil; no fruit appeared
  To gladden his prayerful search,
He died and his body was laid to rest
  In a grave without a Church.

And there they have built a Church,
  'Tis a Church beside a grave;

And they live by the faith of the Son of God,
Who died from sin to save.
What then ! Quamwatla's simple lay
Is true the wide world o'er—
By the empty grave of the Risen Lord
The Church stands evermore.†

At Yulu the people continued for years to be subject to physical convulsions. The people seized called themselves "Spirit people," and believing themselves to be inspired, rejected the missionary's authority. As their morals, however, were rather low, the missionary felt it his duty to oppose them; and he even laid down the rule that all people seized with trembling at Church must leave the building. The "Spirit people" were enraged. At one service a woman refused to go, and Reichel had to turn her out.

"Who gave you the right," she asked, "to act against the Holy Ghost ? I don't care if you expel me. We that are seized know that we have the Spirit." And a fortnight later she repented.

At Dakura the converts' conduct was simply amazing. As this village lay in Nicaragua, the Brethren for over a dozen years were unable to found a station, and the converts, determined to hear the Gospel, would pay periodic visits to the nearest station, stay there three or four weeks, hear as many sermons as possible, and then, returning to Dakura, hold services both for themselves and for their friends. For this loyalty they received their due
1893 reward, and the station at Dakura was soon fully organized.

During this revival period the missionaries were the most popular men on the coast. As soon as a

†By Bishop Ellis. For the whole poem, see "Periodical Accounts," December, 1888.

missionary was seen approaching, the villagers crowded round him.

"Parson, Parson!" they cried. "Make prayers! We have got the revival, but now you must give us God's Word to teach us aright."

Sometimes the preacher was merely passing through the village.

"Ah, no!" he would say. "I cannot stay, I am on my way to so-and-so."

"Make prayers!" the people cried. "See, the Church is ready, just one sermon."

Sometimes, on the other hand, the preacher could stay a few days. At this news the people went wild with joy, and, led by their chief, prepared to give God's messenger a royal welcome. The fattest bullock was killed; the boys ran off to the woods to milk the cows; the women, busy as Martha, prepared cassava, and the supper coffee was made so strong that all that night, in the chief's best bedroom, the preacher, wide awake as a watchman, waited for the dawn to break.

The coping-stone was placed by Benjamin Romig, a member of the Mission Board. For two months he was busy visiting all the stations. At his sug- **1890**
gestion the Brethren opened a Higher School at Bluefields, and all along the coast they paid more attention to education. But Romig's scheme had soon a curious history.

5. THE RULE OF NICARAGUA, 1894 TILL PRESENT DAY.

And now occurred the greatest political change **1894**
in the history of Moskito. Formerly, the kingdom of Moskito had been more or less independent; now, on February 9th, 1894, President Zelaya sent Nicaraguan soldiers to capture Bluefields; and henceforth the so-called Moskito Reserve—known

now as the Province of Zelaya—was part of the Roman Catholic Republic of Nicaragua. At the very outset the soldiers made matters clear. The Moskito flag was torn down and fired from a cannon; the flag of Nicaragua flew in its place; and Robert Clarence, the King of Moskito, fled in terror to Jamaica. To the Brethren this great change was of the utmost importance. In the past they had enjoyed religious liberty; now they were under a Roman Catholic Government; and some of them very naturally feared that the Government would interfere with their work. At this crisis they shewed both wisdom and courage. On the one hand they resolved that they would be loyal citizens of the Republic; on the other hand, if permitted, they would still preach the Gospel; and so persistently did they maintain this attitude that while, for some years, they had to endure persecution, they succeeded, at last, in obtaining full religious liberty. Let us now note the chief features of the struggle.

1894 (*a*) The first attack was made by unauthorised officials. In theory, the Nicaraguan Republic stood for religious liberty; the first Governor, General Galizas, was quite friendly to the Mission; and at the outset he informed the Brethren that, if they would abstain from politics, he would not interfere with their labours. His officials, however, worked against the Brethren in secret. At Bluefields they informed the children that going to school was useless, and along the coast they informed the Indians that now, under the new rule, they would have a glorious time. "You may go back to all your old customs," they said; "you may work on Sundays, and have as many wives as you like." But the Indian converts were not so easily deceived. "We have just come out of the darkness," they said, "and now these officials want to push us back."

(*b*) The next blow was financial. Formerly, taxes in Moskito had been light; now they were so heavy that trade was almost ruined; and many of the Moravian converts suffered severely. The Nicaraguan mode of taxation was peculiar. All imports were taxed by weight; the weight was always made to include the packing; and the consequence of this arrangement was that when the missionaries received parcels from abroad they had to pay enormous taxes out of all reasonable proportion to the value of an article. Let me here give one astounding example. Inside one box was an apron, weighing half a pound; in estimating the value of the parcel, the Government included the box, which weighed several lbs.; and the tax on the packet was actually £5 12s. For some years, therefore, many goods in Moskito were at famine prices. On one box of Christmas goods, valued in England at £1, the missionary had to pay £20; a sponge cost £4 10s.; and butter rose to 10s. a lb.; and thus many of the Indian converts—even though they earned good wages—were now on the verge of starvation. 1895

(*c*) The next move, though well meant, endangered the Brethren's system of education. But the President of the Nicaraguan Republic must not be regarded as a bigot. For anything I know to the contrary, he was quite conscientious in his motives; in any case, he sent two priests to inspect the Brethren's schools; and these priests not only opened rival schools, but actually accused the Brethren of neglecting the Indian children. "Just send your children to us," they said to the parents. "We will teach them to read and write in less than a year." And some of the other inspectors were equally cunning. At one station they informed the children that all money paid as 1896

school-fees was sent by the missionaries to England; at another the inspector urged the parents to demand a Spanish teacher; and at a third he accused the missionary of smuggling tobacco. In spite, however, of these slanders, the Moravian day-schools were well attended. In the so-called Government schools many of the teachers were immoral; in the Brethren's schools they were good Christians; and most of the parents had now learned to distinguish between good and evil.

1900 (*d*) The next Government measure nearly ruined the Mission. Formerly, the Brethren had taught both in English and in Moskito, and some of their pupils had learned to read English literature; now the Government passed a new law that only Spanish might be used;† and Dr. Luna, the Chief Inspector, read out a proclamation at Bluefields (June 9th, 1900) that any teacher breaking the law would be fined not less than £5. With this new official demand the Moravian missionaries simply could not comply. For the time being, therefore, nearly all the Moravian day-schools had to be closed; Government day-schools took their place; and so severe was the blow inflicted on the Mission that in 1909 a General Synod decreed that, unless conditions improved, the Mission in Nicaragua must be gradually abandoned.

(*e*) Meanwhile, other disasters fell on the Mission. In 1908 the Brethren's coasting schooner, the *Meta*, was wrecked, and most of Bluefields was destroyed by fire; and in 1906 and 1908 such furious hurricanes blew that nearly every station lay in ruins. And yet the Brethren continued to make some progress. During these eventful years two

†This measure must not be construed as a deliberate attack on the Mission. For natural patriotic reasons the Government desired that all children in Nicaragua should speak the same language.

missionaries especially rendered magnificent service. The first was G. Grunewald. He was distinguished as a translator. He issued an improved edition of the Moskito Hymn Book, wrote a Moskito Catechism, saw through the press "One Hundred Old Testament Stories and Fifty Psalms," and, finally, issued the New Testament in Moskito. With these books in their hands the Brethren, though excluded from the day-schools, could now teach in the Sunday Schools; and thus, to some extent at least, they foiled Inspector Luna. The other distinguished missionary was Grossmann. In 1905 he explored the Wanks River; two years later a new station, Sang Sangta, was founded, and thus many more heathen Indians were reached.

"Why did you choose Sang Sangta?" said a friend to Grossmann.

"Because it was the wickedest place on the river."

(*f*) At last the sun of freedom burst through the clouds. In 1910, General Estrada, the leader of the Liberal Party in Nicaragua, openly revolted against the Government. His attempt was a brilliant success. The old President, Zelaya, was deposed; General Estrada took his place; and the new Government issued a declaration that, while the Church of Rome was still the State Church, all Protestants should enjoy liberty of conscience. The law about the use of Spanish in schools was repealed; once more the Moravian day-schools flourished; and some of the missionaries, by rendering medical service, made a favourable impression even on the Spaniards of Nicaragua. **1910**

During the last few years a great change has taken place in one of the people's ideas. Formerly the Indians believed that no one could become a Christian unless he was both married and over thirty years of age; but now this delusion has vanished, and

boys and girls of suitable age frequently come forward for Confirmation.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF MOSKITO.

In the history of Moskito there are five noteworthy landmarks.

1. *Moskito a British Protectorate* (1655-1850). In 1630 some English Puritans founded a small colony on the coast, and in 1655 Great Britain undertook the protectorate of Moskito.† During the whole of this period Great Britain maintained the independence of Moskito, and the following events are also worthy of notice:—

(*a*) 1720. Treaty of Alliance between the King of Moskito and the Governor of Jamaica.

(*b*) 1730. Three small British military outposts established at Cape Gracias-a-Dios, Bluefields, and the mouth of the Black River.

(*c*) 1763. Peace of Paris. Great Britain orders her men to leave Moskito, but still continues her protectorate.

(*d*) 1821. Nicaragua declares herself an Independent Republic.

(*e*) 1836. Nicaragua captures Greytown; five years later (1841) Colonel MacDonald, Governor of British Honduras, re-captures Greytown and restores the town to Moskito; and, when Nicaragua protests, Great Britain informs her that she will defend the independence of Moskito against all assailants. The situation is, therefore, I hope, perfectly clear. In 1849, when the first Moravian missionaries arrived, Moskito was an independent

†For a full account of the Puritan Colony, see *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. 165.

kingdom under the special protection of Great Britain.

2. *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty* between Great Britain and the U.S.A. (April 19th, 1850). Great Britain abandons her position as protector of Moskito. Moskito is still independent, but henceforward will have to fight her own battles.

3. *Dallas-Clarendon Treaty* between Great Britain and U.S.A. (1856). Moskito becomes a protectorate of Nicaragua.

4. *Treaty of Managua*, 1860, between Great Britain and Nicaragua. Moskito placed definitely under the sovereignty of Nicaragua, the Moskito boundaries being defined as follows :—South, the Ramah River ; west, meridian 84·15 ; north, the Huesco River ; east, the Caribbean Sea. Nevertheless, Moskito still retained a certain measure of independence. She still had her own king, still made her own laws, still preserved her old customs. Practically, Moskito was now a colony belonging to Nicaragua.

5. *Conquest of Moskito*, 1894. Nicaragua conquers Moskito by force. Thereby Moskito loses her independence entirely, and becomes a province, known as Zelaya, of the Roman Catholic Republic of Nicaragua.

Chapter II.

VICTORIA, 1849—1905.

1. The Lake Boga Disaster, 1849-56.

As Anthony Trollope was travelling in Southern Australia, he seized his opportunity to pay a visit to a little Moravian Mission Station named Ebenezer and situated near Lake Wimmera, in Victoria; and, seeing that the Papus were doomed to extinction, he came to the conclusion—stated clearly in his book, "Australia and New Zealand"—that, while the Moravians were doing excellent work, "the game," to use his own expression, "was not worth the candle." With this pessimistic opinion, however, other competent authorities disagreed. At least three important British officials—Major Irwin, Commandant of Western Australia, Sir George Grey, Lt.-Governor of South Australia, and his successor, Major Hutt—had urged the Moravians to undertake a Mission. The problem was fully discussed at a General Synod (1848), and next year the first two missionaries, Spieseke and Täger, arrived at
1849 Melbourne. The Supt. of Port Philip, Joseph La Trobe, gave them a cordial welcome; the Bishop of Melbourne, Perry, pleaded their cause; the *Church of England Messenger* called on Churchmen both to pray and to subscribe; and, settling down on the
1851 banks of Lake Boga, after several exploratory journeys, the two Brethren made their first acquaintance with the Papus. Let us take a brief glance at the chief characteristics of these people.

According to some ethnologists, the Papus of Australia were descended from a mixture of Malays

and Negroes. In build, though short, they were generally thin and lanky; most of them had flat, consumptive chests; and, as they were much addicted to immorality, many of them also inherited syphilis. For cleanliness they had no taste whatever; instead of washing they rubbed themselves with fat; and the fat and the dirt were a hunting ground for vermin. To these causes of death, however, we must add another. In no country was child murder more common. If twins were born, only one was allowed to live; many of the baby girls were strangled at birth; and in some cases the boys also were murdered. For this custom the Papu mothers gave an intelligible reason. "If the boy lives," they said, "he is sure to catch some painful disease, and therefore, to save him a life of pain, I had better kill him at once." With this merciful design, therefore, she choked him with sand, and buried him about an inch deep.

In practical matters the Papus showed considerable skill. At the time when the Brethren arrived on the scene, the Papus earned their living, not by tilling the soil, but by hunting; for this purpose they used spears made of fish-bone; and, being fairly agile in body, they could swarm up trees, manage horses, and hurl the boomerang with such unerring accuracy that, as we all know, some of them were brought to London to give exhibitions of their skill at the Crystal Palace. In domestic matters their chief weakness was their failure to make any provision for the future. If food abounded they gorged; plenty alternated with famine; and their chief delight was to bask in the sun and smoke strong tobacco.

With regard to their spiritual nature, opinions differed. Ernest Renan declared that they had no souls; some of the colonists, it is said, regarded them as

mere monkeys; and yet the Brethren soon discovered that, in their own rough way, they believed both in God and in immortality. The Creator, the Father of all, was called Pei-e-Wei; man's foe, the devil, was called Majalia; and Pei-e-Wei, though slow to act, sided with his children against Majalia. But both about God and about the devil they held the crudest ideas. God they regarded as a gigantic old man, who slept with his head upon his arm and would one day wake up and eat the world; and the devil was a hideous monster, with a red body. With Pei-e-Wei, however, the chief difficulty was that, though he was by nature kind-hearted, he was also rather addicted to fits of temper. At such times he refused to give any assistance, and the Papus appeased his wrath by performing their famous dance, the Corroborree. The dance took place by moonlight. The performers daubed their bodies with white clay, streaked their faces red, stuck feathers in their hair, strung the tails of rats and mice on their ears and carried spears, boomerangs, and clappers. The men capered about and rattled their clappers; the women droned a lament; and the dance concluded with an orgy. With Majalia the Papus lived in constant conflict. He dwelt, they said, in a dismal cave, appeared in the form of a serpent, and sowed the seeds of disease. For the cure of disease the Papus relied chiefly on the aid of sorcerers. With their thick lips the sorcerers sucked out the poison; then, of course, they denounced some man as the cause; and thus, like the sorcerers of Surinam, they incited to revenge and murder. And yet, with all their aches and pains, the Papus were not entirely miserable. At the close of this life of woe, they said, each man, saint or sinner, would be happy for ever; Nuranduri, the king of spirits, would lead him to a home of joy; and there, restored to the

vigour of youth, he would have as many wives as he had had here on earth.†

For five years the two Brethren plodded quietly on at Lake Boga, and though they did not make any actual converts, they soon gained the goodwill of the people. Prince Albert, a local chieftain, came and asked the Brethren for brandy, and blushed when he was offered water instead. The men paraded in duck trousers, and admired themselves in the glass; the women strutted in red skirts sent from Melbourne; and all, men and women alike, were willing, in return for payment, to help in the building of the station. But in spiritual matters the Papus showed no interest. In vain the Brethren rebuked them for their vices. "Wait a little," replied the Papus, "we will hear you at a more convenient season." In vain the Brethren told the story of the Cross. "Let us have some tobacco," replied the Papus, "otherwise you had better depart."

But now a tragic incident occurred. For certain vile purposes of their own, a number of gold-diggers in the immediate neighbourhood—fearing that if the Papus became Christians the women would no longer sell their souls for an ounce of tobacco—now made a deliberate attempt to destroy the Mission. First they pilfered the Brethren's garden and stole their horses; then they informed the Papus that the Brethren fully intended to poison them, boil them in a pot as big as a beer-house, and serve them up for dinner; and then, to add insult to injury, a farmer broke down the Brethren's fence and cut a road through their garden. In vain Täger went to Melbourne, and appealed for justice. Instead of granting his request forthwith, the authorities very properly informed him that he 1856

†For further information, see R. Brough Smith, "The Aborigines of Victoria."

must bring his case before the Law Courts; to Täger, however, this seemed a needless formality; and, feeling that he had been unjustly treated, he not only abandoned the Mission, but persuaded his colleagues to follow his example. Let us not, however, pass a harsh judgment on Täger. For some months he had suffered severely from jaundice; to such men even the snow looks yellow; and Täger may be excused on the ground that, being ill, he took a more gloomy view of the case than the evidence justified.

2. Ebenezer, 1858—1903.

The next station was a splendid example of inter-denominational co-operation. For the first time in the history of Victoria, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Moravians, supported warmly by the Government, made a systematic attempt to Christianize the Papus. Sir Henry Barkley, the Governor, gave the land, and promised compensation for the losses sustained at Lake Boga; the Bishop of Melbourne, Perry, espoused the cause; the church, built largely by Papu
1860 labour, was opened and dedicated by Canon Chase; and the news that a Papu, Nathaniel Pepper, had actually been converted and baptized, created such a sensation at Melbourne that the missionary, F. A. Hagenauer, had to tell the story at a mass meeting. The proceedings were fully reported in the Melbourne papers. Sir Henry Barkley presided; the Bishop and the Dean of Melbourne sat by his side; the Bishop once more extolled the Brethren's work; and Canon Chase gave detailed information about the character of young Pepper. The result was a great increase in

public interest. For some years the work at Ebenezer was a common topic of conversation in evangelical circles at Melbourne; and members of various shades of religious opinion supported the growing cause in various ways. The children of St. James's, Canon Chase's Church, sent a beautiful Bible; the students of the Presbyterian College sent windows; the citizens of Horsham formed a "Missionary Union"; a sheep farmer, Scott, gave 12,000 shingles; and finally, at the special request of three sympathetic magistrates, the Victoria Parliament formed a "Central Board" to guard the rights of the natives.

Meanwhile, at Ebenezer itself, the moral and spiritual results were marvellous. For twenty-six years the chief missionary here was Spieseke; this man was not addicted to exaggeration; and his sober testimony was that most of the converts at Ebenezer attained a very high level of Christian character. Instead of merely hunting and fishing, they were now mostly employed as sheep farmers. Nathaniel Pepper became a fine local preacher; two Papus, Old Charley and his wife, managed a local Orphanage; the children in the day-school passed through the same curriculum as the English children at Melbourne; and family prayers were conducted at every house. With regard, further, to the people's honesty, let one veracious anecdote suffice. Among the visitors to Ebenezer was a certain Gottlieb Meissel, and Mrs. Spieseke instructed him to leave his boots outside the house, to be cleaned.

"But will they not be stolen?" asked Meissel.

"No," replied the missionary's wife, "who is there to steal them? We have been here seven years, and nothing has been stolen except a piece of soap.

And even that was brought back when we complained."†

With all their skill and zeal, however, the Brethren fought against one foe in vain. In spite of good food and an open-air life the people still suffered terribly from consumption. For every birth in the village there were five deaths; all day long the sound of coughing was heard; and in 1903 the station was closed, not because the people were morally hopeless, but because they had nearly all died.

3. RAMAHYUCK, 1863—1905.

The third station, Ramahyuck,* *i.e.*, "Our Home," was a still more brilliant success. Once more the Government took a prominent part; once more there was interdenominational co-operation. At the special instigation of Queen Victoria herself—who, in a letter, begged the Governor to shield the Papus from violence, educate them, and give them the Gospel—the Victoria Government now created six Reserve Stations, where only Papus and their guardians might live. Two of these stations were Ebenezer and Ramahyuck, situated near Lake Wellington, and, acting in response to many letters from zealous friends in Melbourne, the Moravian Mission Board placed the new venture under the charge of F. A. Hagenauer. For the long period of
1863-1907 forty-four years this man was one of the best-known characters in Victoria; at Melbourne he was famed for his humorous lectures; and the charming feature about his character was that, while he had three different masters to serve, he seems to have served

†For lack of space I cannot tell here the touching and romantic story of the orphan boy, Willie Wimmera. He was taken charge of by Canon Chase, came to England and died at Reading. His grave may be seen in Reading Churchyard, and a few copies of "The Life of Willie Wimmera" are still obtainable.

*Ramah is a Hebrew word meaning "hill," or sometimes "home"; and Yuck is a Papu word meaning "our."

them all equally well. First, he was a Government official, and held the position of Secretary to the Aboriginal Board and Protector of the Aborigines; secondly, his salary was paid by the Presbyterians; and thirdly, he was a Moravian Minister, and had to account for his conduct to the Mission Board. His policy may be very briefly described. He was partly a social reformer and partly a preacher. In his first capacity he attended to such matters as trade, education, health and the care of the poor; in his second he preached the Gospel as the power of salvation.

His first task was to find the Papus a home, and provide them with healthy employment. For this purpose he built a village, consisting of sixteen neat little houses. Each man had now his own home; each man also owned two or three cows; and each man, who had the physical strength, either bred sheep or cultivated a small allotment. For a few years the Government supplied the station with tea, sugar, flour, and clothing, and then the Papus became so prosperous that this dole was no longer required. In one year they made a net profit of £112 on hops alone. Ramahyuck potatoes were the biggest in Australia; and Ramahyuck arrowroot took prizes at Vienna and Melbourne. At the same time we must not imagine that the Papus became ideal workmen. According to one inspector, Heilitz, they were never in danger of over-exerting themselves, and maintained what he called the "Government stroke." Nevertheless, they had now some ambition, and learned the value of thrift. Some provided for old age by lodging money in the bank; some bought harmoniums; and some provided their wives with sewing machines.

Still better, the Papus at Ramahyuck made marvellous intellectual progress. One woman, Mrs.

Daniel Cameron, acquired a good literary style, wrote articles on the Mission for some of the Australian papers, and even dared to criticise Macaulay's Essays. We come here to a point of stupendous interest. For three years in succession the children at the Ramahyuck day-school—which was organized on Government lines and examined annually by Government Inspectors—gained the highest marks in the colony; in no year did the pupils fail to pass the Government standard; and so impressed was Mr. Benjamin Kidd by these facts that, in his "Social Evolution," he used them to prove his thesis that intellectually, though not morally, the savage nations are equal to the civilised.† With due respect to Mr. Kidd, however, I am not convinced of the soundness of his argument. The English teachers, in the day-schools, taught in return for a salary; the Ramahyuck teachers were inspired by love, and put more heart into their work; and the wonderful progress made by the Papu children may have been due, not to their great intellectual ability, but rather to the exceptional zeal of their teachers.* To some extent, however, Mr. Kidd was right. At Ramahyuck the missionaries proved that, given a fair opportunity, the Papus were not quite as stupid as the colonists had previously imagined.

Still better, the Papus at Ramahyuck learned to help each other. In spite of Hagenauer's sanitary reforms, there was still a great deal of chronic illness; only twelve men out of eighty could do a good day's hard work; and these twelve helped to support the

†"Social Evolution," p. 295. The Papu children obtained 100 per cent. marks.

*See, however, A. Conan Doyle's "Wanderings of a Spiritualist," p. 166. He says that Dr. Creed, of the New South Wales Parliament, spoke very highly of the brains of the black fellows. In the schools they still do as well as the whites, and "train into excellent telegraph operators and other employments needing quick intelligence."

other sixty-eight. Some maintained a local "Children's Home"; others sent gifts to the Moskito Coast, and to the Leper Home in Jerusalem; and all, to the best of their ability, contributed to the New Mission in North Queensland.

Above all, the Papus became Christians in the highest sense of the term. Instead of fighting, they lived at peace with each other; instead of dancing, they sang hymns; and instead of gambling at cards, they played at marbles. For several years there was not a single case of adultery; the average standard of morality was higher than at Melbourne; and the people themselves laid down the law that no one guilty of such misconduct should be allowed to live in the village. The whole village became, in time, a Christian family. At seven a.m. all the inhabitants assembled in the Church for morning prayers, and each householder, at sunset, conducted prayers in his own home. And yet Ramahyuck, like Ebenezer, had finally to be abandoned. In 1905 only six families were left; these few were handed over to the Anglicans at Lake Tyers; and two years later, at "Our Home," Hagenauer passed to his reward. 1907

For the sake of completeness I must here add that, at the request of the Presbyterians in Melbourne, three Moravian missionaries, Walder,† Meissel, and Kramer, attempted to establish a Mission at Lake Kopperamanna in South Australia; and the interesting feature of the story is that while, for lack of funds, the work was abandoned, and while the missionaries gained no converts, they did make a few discoveries about the customs and beliefs of the people. In this region the devil was called Kitchi. He appeared in the form of a bird, bit his victims, and thereby caused diseases. In most cases of death, however, 1866-8

†Afterwards a prominent missionary in Jamaica, see p. 228.

the first business of the relatives was to discover the murderer. The elders sat in a circle; a beetle was placed in the middle; and the direction in which the beetle walked was the direction in which the murderer lived. Meissel once saw a woman bury her new-born child, and asked her why she did that. "It is too much trouble," she said, "to carry a baby about." He also heard that the people ate their dead friends, and when he asked them why they did that, they answered: "If you don't eat your friends, you'll soon forget them." The people, however, believed in immortality, and made a distinction between the good and the wicked. The good went down to heaven; the wicked went up to hell. Heaven, therefore, was under the earth and hell up in the sky.

Chapter III.

WESTERN TIBET, 1853—1914.

1. The First Inquiries.

As Dr. Gutzlaff, the famous missionary, was on his 1850
way home from China, he called at Herrnhut, interviewed the Moravian Mission Board, and suggested that Moravian missionaries be sent to that part of Mongolia which was under Chinese rule; and acting on Dr. Gutzlaff's suggestions, the Board selected two young men—Augustus William Heyde and Edward Pagell—to make preliminary inquiries. As the Russian Government refused a pass through Siberia, 1853
the two young men set sail for Calcutta, were rowed up the Ganges, and made their way to Kotghur; and there they were warmly welcomed by Prochnow, of the Church Missionary Society, and gazed with delight on the River Sutlej, gleaming like a silver ribbon far down in the valley. For some months they stayed with Prochnow, studying Mongolian; and then, having mastered the language, they endeavoured to push northwards through Chinese Tibet.

But now they made a painful discovery. At 1855
Rampoor they interviewed a Rajah, and saw two Fakirs, sprinkled with ashes, smoking long cheroots under a fig tree; at Sultanpur, they gave out medicine to the poor, and made a good impression on the people, and then, arriving at the town of Leh, the capital of Ladak, they received the information that the road to Tibet was infested with robbers. But the robbers were not the most effective barrier. The real obstacle was the Chinese Government. Each time the Brethren approached the border, Chinese officials blocked the

way; all the Brethren's arguments fell on deaf ears; and the net result of this expedition was that the Brethren resolved to establish a Mission, not in Chinese Tibet, but in what is known to us as Western Tibet.

The history of this little Mission is pathetic. For reasons soon to be explained, the Brethren found themselves compelled to confine their main efforts to three small stations. In Lahoul they founded Kyelang (1857), situated on the high road from Tri-lok-nath, a Buddhist shrine, to Lhasa. In Bashahr they founded Poo (1865), close to the Chinese border. In Ladak, they established their cause at Leh (1885), a busy city; and though two other stations were afterwards founded—Kalatse (1899) near Leh, and Chini (1900) near Poo—these two stations were little more than experimental out-preaching places. Each of the three main stations was skilfully chosen; each was in a fairly populous district; each was served by efficient and zealous missionaries; and yet, in each case, the progress was so slow that, driven almost to despair, some English Moravians found it needful to establish (1895) a special Tibetan Prayer Union. The whole story raises a fascinating problem. Let us first notice the Brethren's methods of work.

2. The Seven Lamps.

As Ruskin speaks of seven lamps of architecture, so the scientific historian may speak of seven methods of missionary work, and each of these seven methods was employed by the Moravians in Western Tibet. In theory the people of Western Tibet were mostly Buddhists; the authorised teachers of Buddhism were the Lamas; and now, to overcome the Lamas' influence, the Brethren brought the Seven Lamps

of Gospel Truth and trusted that in due time the light would dispel the darkness.

1. *Agricultural Science.* At the special request of the Government, which not only offered land but granted money for irrigation purposes, the Brethren opened a Model Farm at their first station, Kyelang. Here they introduced rye and potatoes, bred sheep, and taught the natives how to grow greens and fruits, and thereby they achieved two useful objects. On the one hand they provided for their own converts. For more than thirty years all their converts came from the poorest classes. The situation in Western Tibet was terrible. In theory there was religious liberty; in fact, no one could become a Christian without finding himself in financial difficulties. His landlord turned him out without due notice; his father cut him off with less than a shilling; and his wife deserted him for another mate. The case of Stobgyes at Kalatse was typical.

"I will teach you the Christian religion," said he to his wife.

"Never," she retorted. "You must sign a paper handing over your house and land to me."

By becoming a Christian, therefore, Stobgyes lost the bulk of his property. For such heroes some provision must be made. At Kyelang some of the converts were employed on the farm as labourers and cowherds. At Poo, the second station, they were taught spinning and weaving; others had positions as postmen, printers, and day-school teachers; and, even as late as 1895, all the converts except two were dependent for their livelihood on the Mission. By means of their industrial system the Brethren made it possible for a man to be a Christian without actually dying of starvation.

The other object was that of proving the Lamas

impostors. In the past the Lamas had taught that no tree would ever bear fruit unless they read certain charms to keep off evil spirits; for this performance they generally charged a high fee; and the Brethren's prosperous farm at Kyelang proved that the Lamas' claims were false.

1857-67 2. *Literature.* In 1857 there arrived at Kyelang the most distinguished linguist in the whole history of the Moravian Church; this was Henry Augustus Jäschke; and Jäschke's chief task was to translate the whole Bible into Tibetan. His linguistic powers were enormous. At the time when he arrived in Western Tibet, he had already mastered Latin, Greek, Polish, Danish, Swedish and Hungarian; he had, also, it is said, a working knowledge of Czech, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian; and now, after spending a year in the quiet little village of Stok, in Ladak—where, he tells us, he existed on barley, chang, and one egg a day, laid systematically by an obliging hen—he settled down at Kyelang and made the little village a home of learning. There, day after day, he sat, translating useful books into popular Tibetan. The Brethren had their own lithographic press, and one Nathaniel, a converted Lama from Lhasa, rendered efficient assistance.

1859 First appeared Barths' Bible Stories, a Harmony of the Gospels, a Liturgy, a Hymn Book, a Catechism, a Geography, a Book of Fables, a Church History, and various school readers, tracts, and pamphlets; then (1865) "A Short Practical Grammar of the Tibetan Language"; then (1866) "A Romanized Phonetic Tibetan and English Dictionary"; and then (1867) a "Conversation Book in Tibetan, Urdu, and Hindu," and "An Introduction to the Hindu and Urdu Languages."

1867 At this point, broken down in health, Jäschke had to retire from the scene of action. During the nex-

thirteen years, however, tortured though he was by headaches, he plodded quietly on in his own home. First (1871), he published a huge English-Tibetan Dictionary; then came his elaborate treatise on the various Tibetan dialects; and finally, during the last few years of his life, he translated into Tibetan all the New Testament except Hebrews. On the value of his labours two great scholars passed judgment. Dr. Müller, of Vienna, called him a shining light; Dr. Max Müller, of Oxford, declared that in due time his work would have important results; and the real truth of the matter is that Jäschke's work in Tibetan may, without exaggeration, be compared to that of Liddell and Scott in Greek, or Lewis and Short in Latin.

His successors did their best to continue his work. F. A. Redslob translated Hebrews and Revelation; Heyde, who was fifty years at Kyelang, wrote a Tibetan Arithmetic, and a "View of the World," translated Beck's "Manual of Doctrine," and, at the request of the Government, revised Jäschke's Dictionary; others published the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and various Hymn Books. Finally, A. H. Francke founded and edited a Tibetan Monthly Magazine, entitled "The Ladak News." By means 1904
of this last step Francke was introducing a new idea. For the first time in the history of Western Tibet non-Christian Tibetans realised that printed matter might be read, not for the purpose of acquiring merit, but because it contained interesting information.

The Magazine was divided into three parts. In Part I. there was political information, mostly about Tibet; in Part II., an old Tibetan Story; and in Part III. a short sermon; and Francke himself expressed the hope that if the people read his Magazine in order to gain instruction, they might some day read the Bible for the same purpose.

3. *Colporteur Work.* In order to bring their publications to the homes of the people, several Brethren—Heyde, Pagell, Redslob, and Schnabel—spent each summer travelling; all the six provinces in Western Tibet—Ladak, Kunawar, Spitti, Bashahr, Nubra, and Zanskar—became familiar ground; and though the Brethren could never feel sure that any of the books they distributed would be read, they had at least a fine opportunity of studying the inner life of the people. Let two examples illustrate the point.

The time is evening, and the missionary has pitched his tent in some remote highland hamlet; the moon rises above the snow-crowned peaks; the villagers light their camp fires, and the missionary, standing before his tent, sings his evening hymn of praise. The villagers cluster round him, the missionary preaches a sermon, and the eyes of his listeners shine with hope.

"We have listened well to-night," they say, "now he will hand round the baksheesh."

Again, on another occasion, Heyde gave some books to an invalid, and the man shed tears of gratitude.

"I shall put these with my other books," he said, "and offer burnt sacrifices to them."

But this colporteur work was not altogether in vain. By rendering some homely service the missionaries always endeavoured to win the affections of the people. In one village they would distribute medicines; in another they repaired watches; and some of the pilgrims valued the books, and carried them as far as Lhasa; and in some cases, they even read and remembered Bible stories.

1861 4. *Education.* As soon as Jäschke had the needful schoolbooks ready, the Brethren, aided by the Government, which granted £50 per annum, opened a small day-school at Kyelang. A Hindoo

teacher was appointed to teach Urdu; the missionaries taught the usual subjects in Tibetan; the missionaries' wives taught knitting; and young Tibetans, in return for a small salary, taught in the surrounding villages. But the whole scheme, at an early period, met with an unexpected obstacle.

At that time the most powerful noble in the neighbourhood was a certain Tari Chand, and Tari Chand was a two-faced scoundrel. In his conversations with the Brethren he professed himself a friend; in reality, he was their bitter enemy; and fearing that the more educated the people became the more likely they would be to resist his tyranny, he persuaded the local Lamas to poison the minds of the parents. The Lamas rose to the occasion; the parents intimidated the children; and, therefore, the attendance was always small. Nor were the few who attended very satisfactory. In the winter the boys were unruly; in the summer they were frequently herding sheep; and the girls often stole their knitting material, and made up the weight by inserting stones in the balls of wool.

The first real success was achieved at Leh. For 1890
some reason the people here began at last to be ashamed of their ignorance; the local Governor issued an order that one child in every family must attend the Moravian School; and though the order cannot have been fully obeyed, the average attendance rose to sixty.

5. *Medical Work.* The story of the medical work is both tragic and romantic. The first leader of much importance was Edward Pagell. For eighteen years this man, who, though not fully qualified, had much more medical knowledge than the Lamas, rendered excellent service at Poo, vaccinating, extracting teeth, curing sore eyes, and compounding a popular ointment made of minium and camphor; and so

much was he beloved that the common people called him the Poo Father. His end caused terrible sorrow. On January 3rd, 1883, Pagell fell dead in his surgery; six days later (January 9th) Mrs. Pagell died; and, with her last breath, she urged the three Christians in the village to hold true to the faith.

The next leader was a fully-qualified man. In 1886 Dr. Carl Marx was appointed Medical Missionary at Leh; here a small hospital was opened, the building itself being provided by the Government; and Dr. Marx made it his business to attend, not only to the physical, but also to the spiritual, needs of the patients. The building was far from being an ideal hospital. For some reason the doors would not shut, nearly all the windows were broken, and the patients, who brought their own bedding, slept on the floor. Dr. Marx's career, however, was soon cut short; on May 29th, 1891, he died of typhus; and during the next seven years the hospital was in non-Moravian hands.

The next leader, Dr. Ernest Shawe, was the son of a Moravian minister in the north of Ireland. He also (1907) died in the prime of life, and six years passed before a successor, Dr. Heber, could be found.

6. *Zenana Work.* This also, like the hospital work, began at Leh (1890). In order to come into closer contact with the women, Mrs. Weber, Miss Kant, Mrs. Ribbach, and others, began a series of systematic house-to-house visitations; thereby they discovered how miserable the women were; and all these women were only too glad to have an opportunity of complaining about the cruelty of their husbands. The scene in most houses was both pathetic and humorous. As soon as the first formalities were duly completed, the visiting lady took her seat on a carpet; tea appeared; and the

hostess generally asked her visitor how much her hat cost, how often she washed her face, what sort of soap she used for her hands, and whether she dressed her hair with a sponge or a flannel. The chief purpose of the visits was, of course, religious. Bible pictures were brought to please the children; simple stories out of the Gospels were read; and sometimes the more intelligent women would show each other the pictures. According to Mrs. Ribbach, the women most easy to reach were the Mahometans. These women fasted on certain occasions, and the reason they gave for doing so was that otherwise God would hit them with a stick. Mrs. Ribbach described the whole situation in a sentence. "It is clear," she said, "that these women have never been taught to use their brains."

7. *Gospel Preaching.* For many years the regular Sunday services held at the three stations were both dull and poorly attended; the Tibetans, though fond of some kinds of music,† could not sing the Moravian Chorales, and during the service they would giggle, and spit on the floor. In due time, however, there was a slight improvement; at Poo and Leh Lantern Services proved attractive, and finally, by attending week-night Prayer Meetings, the people began to realise what prayer really means.

In spite, however, of these seven methods, no striking numerical success was achieved. In 1885 the number of converts was only six; in 1895 only thirty; in 1903, only sixty-three; and some of the earlier converts were most disappointing. The first,

†For specimens of Tibetan music, written down and harmonised by the Rev. A. H. Francke, see "A Summer Ride Through Western Tibet" (pp. 150-7), by Miss Jane Ellen Duncan. (*Collins' Clear Type Press.*) The Tibetans are far more musical than the first missionaries supposed; and so vigorous was the singing in the Moravian Church at Leh, that summer visitors sometimes came to listen.

Nicodemus, is said to have committed suicide; another, Nathaniel, deserted; and a third, Martha, broke the Seventh Commandment.

In the last ten years, however, *i.e.*, soon after the establishment of the Tibetan Prayer Union, some of the converts, such as Stobgyes, made great sacrifices for their religion, and two, Chompel and Paulu, could even be employed as evangelists. But why, it may be asked, was progress so slow?

3. THE EXPLANATION.

At the time when Heyde and Pagell arrived on the scene, no one had the least suspicion how strong and how well organized the opposition to the work would be. During the next fifty years, however, many interesting facts were discovered about the moral and spiritual life of the people; and these facts are almost sufficient to explain the Brethren's failure.

The key to the problem will be found in the word "Lamas." In theory, the popular religion was Buddhism; in reality, it was Lamaism;† and these Lamas, by using three powerful methods, had so destroyed the people's higher instincts, that one missionary, Redslob, described their work as Satanic.

1. *Ceremonialism.* First, instead of appealing to the conscience, the Lamas laid the main stress on certain outward forms, and by means of these outward forms they impressed the minds of the simple-minded. They wore long red or yellow robes; they shaved their crowns; they used rosaries; they lived in cloisters; they read books aloud in public; and thus, chiefly in their own interests, they created the impression that they alone, being in possession of supernatural powers, were competent to deal with the devils with which the country was supposed to

†On Lamaism see Percival Landon's "Lhasa," pp. 253-273. (*T. Fisher Unwin*, 1906).

swarm. Among the Lamas the most powerful were the Kushogs. A Kushog, they said, was a noble soul who, while ready for Nirvana, had returned to earth to help his brethren, and these Kushogs possessed extraordinary miraculous powers. They controlled the avalanches and glaciers; they sold amulets to prevent diseases, they could even cause the barren to bear. But all the Lamas claimed supernatural powers. According to the Lamas all diseases, all disasters, all floods, famines and droughts were caused by invisible devils; one famous book, they said, was entitled "The Victory over One Hundred and Four Devils"; and only the Lamas understood how to outwit the devils.

In cases of illness they employed various methods. Sometimes they made huge images of animals, charmed the devils into the images, and threw the images into the fire; sometimes they gave the patient pills; sometimes they wrote out prescriptions and told the people to swallow the paper; and sometimes, in return for a fee, they said many long prayers. In cases, however, of drought or bad harvest, they employed a still more sensational method. At the special request of the head of the house, a number of Lamas seated themselves, in solemn array, on his drawing-room carpet; there, for several hours in succession, with brief intervals for refreshment, they read books aloud, beat drums and clanged cymbals; and then the head Lama, supported by two trumpeters, stood before a blazing brazier placed in the family altar, hurled books and images into the fire, and announced that, as the devils were now departing, the boys of the house might catch them in sacks, while the adults attacked them with sabres and rifles. But even yet the work was not complete. In case any devils still survived on the premises, another fire was now lighted in the open-air; into this

fire images of Buddha were thrown; and finally, the head Lama announced that all the devils were now either routed or roasted. Thus had the Lamas, from time immemorial, held the peasants of Western Tibet in terror. For all their services, medical and spiritual, they charged handsome fees; many of them, while posing as pious, were both besotted and immoral; and, at the houses of the rich, they showed their appreciation of good victuals.†

2. *The Doctrine of Merit.* In addition, however, to driving out devils, the Lamas laid great stress on the doctrine of merit; this doctrine lay at the root of the people's character; and the interesting feature in the doctrine is that, while in appearance it had a certain ethical basis, and might almost be called the doctrine of salvation by works, yet in reality, when closely examined, it gave such a perverted view of life that no person, holding it sincerely, could by any possibility accept the Christian religion.

Let us see precisely how this was the case. According to the Lamas there were four ways of gaining merit; and each, while looking excellent, was morally corrupt.

The first method was to keep the Ten Commandments, and the Ten Commandments in Western Tibet were as follows:—

(1) Thou shalt not kill any living thing.*

†The reader must not be deceived by the description of the Lama in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*. Rudyard Kipling's picture is true to life, but his hero was an exceptional character.

*Why not? Because any living thing might contain the soul of a human being. If a man, *e.g.*, trod on a beetle he might be killing his great-grandfather. For breaches of the First Commandment the usual punishment was—so, at least, the Lamas taught—that the murderer, in his next existence, took the form of the animal he had killed. If a man, *e.g.*, killed an ibex, he would be born as an ibex. And this rule even applied to animals. If a wolf killed a sheep, the wolf, after death, would be re-born as a sheep.

(2) Thou shalt not take what is not given to thee.
(3) Thou shalt not commit adultery.
(4) Thou shalt not speak evil of another.
(5) Thou shalt not talk nonsense.
(6) Thou shalt not slander.
(7) Thou shalt not covet.
(8) Thou shalt not plan injury.
(9) Thou shalt not lie.
(10) Thou shalt not hold heretical views.

But here the doctrine of merit spoiled the picture. According to the Lamas these Commandments were good, not because they taught any high moral principle, but simply because, by keeping them, the devotee might lay up so much merit; neither the Lamas nor the people valued character for its own sake; and, therefore, there was a constant tendency to keep the Commandments in the letter and break them in spirit. Let one example suffice. In theory, no Tibetan would kill an animal; in practice, he managed to evade the precept. On one occasion Pagell, at Poo, witnessed a curious performance. First, the villain, seizing a goat, plugged its mouth and nose; then he sat on it till it was dead; and then he informed the missionary that the animal had died a natural death. Such scenes were of common occurrence. As long as the Tibetan shed no blood, he considered that he had not taken life; and if the animal died of suffocation, that was the animal's fault.

The second method of acquiring merit was reading books. But the word "reading" in Western Tibet had not quite the same meaning as in England. In England to read, as a rule, is to understand; in Western Tibet it is merely pronouncing the words; in England people read books either for instruction or for amusement; in Western Tibet the Lamas read,

not to improve their own minds, but simply to acquire so much merit; and, therefore, their great object was to read as many books as possible in the shortest possible time. For this purpose the books in the Lamasary libraries were specially adapted. Instead of being bound in volumes like ours, they consisted of loose pages, about ten-and-a-half feet long, and one foot wide, which, lying flat, were enclosed in two boards, like music in a portfolio; and thus the Lamas could split the book into parts and, each taking so many pages, read in chorus. The more Lamas joined, the faster the reading; and the faster the reading, the greater quantity of merit. Sometimes five hundred Lamas, by joining forces, would read a whole library in two days. They sat in rows, read at express speed, and rocked their bodies to and fro.

With regard to the nature of these books, our information is imperfect. According to the Lamas, they were mostly translations from the Sanskrit, were written by holy men of old, and, like the Bible, contained not merely the story of the Creation and the Fall, but also the plan of salvation.

But what the plan of salvation was the Lamas never explained. Some of the books were written in dead languages; others contained merely legends and incantations; and the less the book could be understood, the more highly it was valued.

"If the book is clear," said the Lamas, "it is shallow; if it is unintelligible, it is deep."

"Your religion," said a Lama to Heyde, "cannot be of much use; anybody can understand it."

Among the laity similar views were held. The rich engaged the Lamas to read in their libraries; the poor listened to Lamas reading in public; and neither rich nor poor endeavoured to understand a word. Why, then, asked the Tibetans, did the

missionary read the Bible at Church? Simply to acquire merit for himself.

The third method of acquiring merit was prayer. But this word, "Prayer," must not mislead us. In Christian countries prayer means communion with God; in Western Tibet it is merely word-repetition. For centuries the most popular prayer there had been the famous "Om Mani Padme hung,"† *i.e.*, "A jewel in the Lotus, oh." This prayer was commonly regarded as a charm against all forms of trouble, and though hardly anyone seems to have known its origin or its meaning, the general idea was that the more frequently it was repeated the more merit accrued to the population. In some of the Lamaseries the Brethren found huge cylinders, lined inside with gold paper. On the gold paper the aforesaid prayer was printed millions of times; the machine was turned by a crank; and one missionary, Becker Shawe, expressed the opinion that if steam were introduced into Tibet the Lamas would use it to drive their prayer-wheels. But the laity were almost as fervent as the Lamas. Each house possessed its private prayer-wheel; the larger the wheel the more prayers it contained; and the more rapidly it spun the more merit the family acquired. Nor was this enough for the Tibetans. On the banks of the river stood prayer-wheels turned by water; on the roofs of the houses prayer-wheels were turned by the wind; some of the kitchens had prayer-wheels turned by hot air; and the same prayer was inscribed on rocks and trees, on little stones adorning the walls, and on flags and banners. The housewife spun her wheel in the kitchen; the labourer spun his wheel in the fields; and the merchant,

†The last syllable is generally printed "hum." Dr. Heber, however, who has lived for some years at Leh, informs me that "hung" gives the usual pronunciation.

riding home from Lhasa, spun his wheel on the mountain bridle-path.

"I hope," said Dr. Marx to a patient in the Leh Hospital, "that you understand what I said about prayer."

"Yes," said the patient, "you mean that I must never forget my 'Om Mani Padme hung.'"

The fourth method of acquiring merit was suffering. According to the Lamas, all suffering was closely connected with sin; suffering, they said, was simply the method whereby atonement for sin was made; by suffering, and suffering alone, could the soul be purified; and this process must be continued until the purification was complete. As, however, one short life on this earth was not in most cases sufficient for this great purpose, the sinner must be born again, sometimes in the form of a beast or insect; and only thus could sinful men be made fit for Nirvana.

Let us now see how this doctrine of merit affected the progress of the Mission. The point needs to be stated with great precision. As the Tibetans worked, read, prayed, and suffered simply to acquire merit, they very naturally argued that all other men, all the world over, acted from the same selfish motive; no other motive was to them conceivable; no such thing as pure unselfishness existed; and on this principle they judged the conduct of the missionaries. Why did the missionaries come to Western Tibet? To gain merit for themselves. Why did they teach the children and distribute medicines to the poor? To gain merit for themselves. Why did the doctor rise from his couch, trudge ten miles through the snow, and attend a suffering peasant free of charge? To gain merit for himself. And why did Christ, the Son of God, lay His glory by, take upon Him the form of a servant, and suffer on Calvary? To gain merit for Himself.

3. *Financial Tyranny.* The most terrible part of the story still remains. "The Lamas," says Miss Jane Ellen Duncan, "are the money-lenders of the country," and all the missionaries give the same testimony. At critical times when money is scarce and hard to obtain, the Lamas charge very high rates of interest, and, if the debtor cannot pay at the stipulated time, he is told that in his next existence he will take the form of some loathsome beast. Thus the rule of the Lamas in Tibet is really a rule of terror. Many of the peasants are in debt to the Lamas. "This debt business," said Schreve, a Moravian missionary, "is the hardest part of our work among Christians," and, judging by that remark, I have sometimes feared that, so long as this cruel system exists, the Moravian missionaries in Western Tibet may continue to plough upon a rock.

Chapter IV.

THE LEPER HOME AT JERUSALEM,

1867—1914.

1865 As the Baron and Baroness Keffenbrink-Ascheraden were on a visit to Jerusalem they saw, behind a garden wall, a group of Arabian begging lepers, and the Baroness, being touched by their distress, appealed forthwith to Dr. Gopat, Bishop of Jerusalem, and promised that, if he and his friends would build a Leper Home, she would be responsible for the expense. Dr. Gopat formed a local Committee; Dr. Chaplin, an English practitioner, promised to be house-physician; and a few months later, at the Baroness's expense, a small hospital was erected outside the Jaffa Gate. With this, however, the Baroness was not content. In order that the new hospital might be under efficient Christian management, she now appealed to the Moravian Mission Board, and suggested that the Moravian Church should provide a House-Father. The Moravian Mission Board agreed; F. Tappe and his wife were summoned from Labrador; and on Ascension Day, 1867 (May 21st), the first Leper Home in the history of Palestine was opened.

1867 The next task was to make provision for the future maintenance of the Home. The Baroness now turned her attention to England. For some years a well-known English Moravian Bishop, James La Trobe, had taken a special interest in lepers; among other things he had written a pamphlet entitled "Work Among the Lepers," describing the Moravian work at Hemel-en-Aarde and Robben Island; and the Baroness, having been presented

with a copy by a school-girl, now wrote to Bishop La Trobe and asked him to use his influence on behalf of the new hospital. In response to her request, the Bishop had her letter printed in the "Messenger," the monthly magazine of the Moravian Church in England; local collectors were soon appointed in most of the English congregations; and Bishop La Trobe, at the Baroness's request, acted as English Secretary. Thus, at the outset, English Moravians learned to take an interest in the Leper Home. During the first few years the annual cost was only about £250, and two-thirds of this sum came from England, and later, when the annual cost was £1,000, half the sum came from England. In due course the American Province also became a regular contributor; the Swiss Moravians, though few in number, gave according to their ability; and the general arrangement was that while Moravians all over the world were expected to aid the cause financially, the continental Moravians supplied the house-parents and the nurses. For thirteen years the Baroness herself, aided by the Jerusalem Committee, acted as General Manager; then, at her special request, the Moravian Church took formal charge (1881), and henceforward the **1881** Leper Home, like the Foreign Missions and the work in Bohemia, was the joint responsibility of all three Provinces. At the General Synod in 1889 some further regulations were made. In future the General Synod was to be the final authority. In the **1889** intervals between Synods there was to be a Central Administrative Board of three, elected by the General Synod; the old Jerusalem Local Committee still rendered assistance; and the English, American and Swiss Secretaries were corresponding members of the Administrative Board. From the opening day till 1908 the Home was under three different house-

fathers. The first, F. Tappe, served sixteen years (1867-1883), *i.e.*, till his health broke down; the second, Fritz Müller, served eight years (1883-1891); and the third, Karl Schubert, served seventeen years (1891-1908), and died suddenly of heart disease in the Home. The case of Schubert was exceptionally pathetic. For six months before his end he suffered from a very painful disease. In order that he might do his duties, he had to be carried about in a chair; so swollen were his arms and hands that he could not play his zither; and yet he refused to return home for treatment except on the understanding that, after a year's furlough, he should be allowed to resume his work. Some weeks before his death he had a strange dream. He had died, and was in the Heavenly Jerusalem. There, to his joy, he was informed that he might be the doorkeeper at the Jaffa Gate; there, in his room beside the gate, he found his zither, changed to pure gold, and the instrument, at the touch of his fingers, rendered music sweeter than any on earth.

For their self-denying labours, neither the house-parents nor their assistants received much earthly reward. The house-parents had their board and £50 a year; the nurses their board and 5s. a week; and the local physician, who came twice a week, an annual honorarium of £30.

1908 On Schubert's death an important change took place. The office of house-father was abolished, the Home was placed under a matron, and an evangelist was appointed. At first the lepers did not approve of the change. In the past, they said, they had been under a man, now they were under a mere woman, and a little natural grumbling was the result. Nevertheless, the change was justified; the matron,

Miss Elizabeth Müller,† soon gained the affection of her patients; and the sufferers often showed their gratitude, both to her and to the nurses, by bringing flowers.

Meanwhile, the Home had slowly but surely been increasing in popularity. In the years 1868-70 the average number of patients was only thirteen; in 1870-87 eighteen; in 1888-98 between twenty and thirty; and in 1898-1914 between forty and fifty. During all this period most of the patients were Mahometans; no religious test, of course, was imposed; and the Christians came from various denominations. In 1912, *e.g.*, thirty-eight of the patients were Mahometans, only seven were Christians, and those Christians comprised three members of the Greek Church, one Protestant and three Roman Catholics.

Meanwhile, also, a change had taken place in the building. For twenty years the Baroness's hospital rendered excellent service; both the English and the Swiss Moravians enlarged it by adding a room; and thus the ideal was upheld that each patient should have at least 1,200 cubic feet of fresh air.

At length, however, in 1887, a new and larger **1887**
Leper Home was built. The site chosen was the north side of the valley of Rephaim. As Rephaim was then a mere desert, some of the people in the neighbourhood thought that Fritz Müller was insane. But Müller was really building on good soil. There King David, in days of old, had heard the wind in the mulberry trees; there, if trees had once grown, trees might grow again; and acting on this sound principle, Müller had many large stones removed and laid out a garden and fields. As the Leper Home is on the side of a hill, it can easily be seen from a long

†A sister of Dr. J. T. Müller, the archivist at Herrnhut, and author of several valuable works on Moravian Church history.

distance. It stands about a mile south-west of the city. Above the front door is engraved the name "Jesus Hilfe," *i.e.*, "Jesus' Help"; the front of the house faces south; below the front door there is a fine flight of steps; and from the garden gate to the steps there is a path about fifty yards long. The Home is two stories high, and is built in Eastern style. In the middle there is an open court, cool and shady; around this court runs a gallery, or balcony, on pillars; and from the court and the balcony respectively branch off the lower and upper stories. The Home accommodates about fifty patients. In course of time various improvements were added. In 1900 a large cistern was built; later, a disinfecting machine and an isolation room for extreme cases were provided; and, aided largely by the patients, the house-parents made the garden beautiful. Fritz Müller planted fig trees and mulberry trees; the front of the house was made bright with clematis and roses; and the Lepers themselves planted a grove and called it "Paradise." Let us now see how, in this Leper Home, the Moravian Church has attempted three tasks.

1. *The Relief of Suffering.* According to Dr. Einsler, of Jerusalem—Dr. Chaplin's successor as house-physician—modern leprosy in Palestine differs in two respects from that described in the Bible. Formerly, the skin turned white as snow; now, though it grows numb, and rots, it retains its natural colour. Formerly, some cases were cured; Dr. Einsler found all cases incurable. The modern disease takes two distinct forms. In most cases it attacks the bones, and causes the limbs to fall off; in other cases it attacks the nervous system; and the latter kind has been found the more difficult to treat. But in all cases it is repulsive to behold, and causes severe pain. By the Jews it is called the

Scourge of God, and by the Greeks the Son of Death, and Fritz Müller, in one of his reports, described it as the most frightful disease on earth. The patients themselves gave similar testimony. Soon after the new Home was opened, Salich, in the name of all the patients, wrote a beautiful letter of thanksgiving; and yet he felt justified in saying how terribly he and his fellow-patients suffered. "God the Highest," he wrote, "has visited us with this painful disease. The burden which He has thus laid upon us is great and heavy, and at times scarcely to be borne. Sometimes we toss about upon our beds with inexpressible aches and pains, such as human understanding can scarcely comprehend." In that description there was no exaggeration. At nearly every stage the disease is painful, and the last stages are the worst. The first symptom is merely a slight itch or stinging sensation. But as soon as that symptom appears the victim knows that he is doomed. And now the disease makes irresistible progress. First, beneath the skin, hard lumps develop, then the bone itself is exposed and attacked; and, sooner or later, the whole limb is destroyed. In some cases there is hemorrhage, and the patient dies of exhaustion; in others the mouth and throat are attacked, and the patient struggles in vain for breath; and some of the death-bed scenes the house-parents witnessed may truly be described as appalling.

In vain Dr. Einsler sought for a remedy. At various times rumours reached Jerusalem that some curative medicine had been discovered; Dr. Einsler always gave such remedies a trial; and three deserve special mention. The first was an Indian remedy, Cholmogran Oil; the second a popular anodyne, Gurguin Oil; and the third, Nastine, a serum invented by Dr. Deycke, of Bombay. Dr. Einsler had some faith in the first,

and found that it acted as a tonic; the second alleviated pain a little; but the only observable effect of the third was a diminution in the patient's vitality. In cases where the pain caused insomnia, Dr. Einsler often used sleeping draughts. For the rest, fresh air and good nursing helped to make life endurable. Each morning the patient's wounds were dressed with carbolic acid, and those who were not quite bedridden had regular baths. The daily food was both nutritious and appetising. At breakfast, taken in bed, the usual fare was bread, tea, and sometimes olives soaked in salt water; at dinner, meat, vegetables, rice, and sometimes soup; and at supper, which the patients were allowed to prepare themselves, bread, soup, eggs, fruit, and dainties sent in by friends.

But the house-parents did not rely entirely on physical treatment. In order to prevent the lepers from moping, and acting on the principle that congenial labour physics pain, the house-parents laid down the rule that every leper medically fit should do at least four hours' work a day. But the lepers did not work for the mere sake of working; the work itself had always some obvious value; and thus the lepers were made to feel that they were rendering useful service. For the men there was generally work in abundance. They tended the cattle in the fields, cleared the garden of stones, tilled the soil, and helped, when the need arose, to build the new cistern. For the women equally useful work was found. Some scrubbed the stone floors; some did coarse sewing; some sat in the open air grinding corn; and some, too weak for such tasks, spun wool in the easy Arabian style. Sometimes the house-father offered rewards for some special work, and occasionally the lepers were informed that until a certain task was finished, some

expected treat could not be given. For all, too, some homely amusement was found, and every patient was encouraged to have a hobby. Some kept fowls, sold eggs, and thereby earned a little pocket-money; some grew flowers; and some even learned to make musical instruments. Nor were intellectual interests lacking. In spite of their pain, most of the lepers seemed to enjoy the cool and quiet evening hour; and while some merely smoked and mused, others read the Bible, the Koran, and other books in the Home, plied the nurses with questions, and, like their Arab forefathers, told tales till darkness fell. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War, they were all keenly interested in politics, and, aided by a map provided by Schubert, they followed the movements of the armies. At other times there were other forms of amusement. In the winter there would be snowball fights; in the summer races and open-air games; and recently many of the lepers have found great pleasure in flying kites. Most of them also loved both poetry and dancing, and the dramatic instinct was strongly developed. The most popular form of amusement was the fantasia, *i.e.*, a dance with a definite meaning. Each movement in such a dance was supposed, just like a word or picture, to express some idea, and one fantasia was even described as a "fantasia unto the Lord." Sometimes, to make the meaning quite clear, dance and song were combined. At the wedding, *e.g.*, of Dr. Dalman, a member of the Local Committee, the lepers gave a grand marriage fantasia, and the following Arabic love-song was sung:—

I see thy cheeks, oh maiden,
  I see thy eyes.
Why should the voice of weeping in
  Thy father's home arise?

Or why should I complain that thou
Thy friends hast left behind ?
I see thy cheeks and arching brows ;
And thus I speak my mind :
Of thousands thou the chosen art ;
No fairer can I find.

Thus, by means of work and play, did the lepers endeavour to forget their troubles.

But the chief and best remedy used was Christian sympathy. As soon as the sufferer entered the Home, he found himself in a new world. In Palestine lepers are generally known as "the poor," and the term "poor" is a term of contempt. On the highways the leper was a vagabond ; in the Home he was a brother. Outside he was regarded as a criminal, visited by a just God for his sins ; inside he was a child whom the Father loved. At Christmas the Home was made a Palace of Delight. For all the lepers there were presents from Christian friends in other lands. The Christmas Tree was adorned ; Christmas carols were sung ; the story of the Birth at Bethlehem was read ; and, though no attempt was made to interfere with the distinctive creeds of the inmates, all the lepers were given to understand that the real giver of the presents was the Friend of Sinners. Another much-prized treat was the annual excursion. In order to stimulate wholesome industry, the house-father would sometimes announce, a few weeks before the great day, that only the well-behaved would be allowed to go, and then it was interesting to notice how the laziest dug in the garden, how the sulky beamed and smiled, and how even the most bigoted Mahometans would attend morning prayers. The direction of the annual excursion varied. Sometimes there was a drive in waggons to Hebron ; sometimes the Jordan Valley was explored, and the

patients strolled by the Dead Sea; and sometimes, in later years, they have even taken train to Joppa, and gazed on the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

2. *The Destruction of Leprosy.* At the time when the Home was opened the total number of lepers in Palestine was estimated as only three hundred, and the Brethren, therefore, entertained the hope that if they could persuade all these lepers to enter the Home, they might be able, in a few years, to stamp out the disease. But now arose a question about the right method. Is the disease hereditary, or not? On the answer to that question the Moravian Church had to base its policy; and the difficulty was that opinions differed. At a Leper Congress held in Berlin (1907) the pronouncement was made that, while leprosy is contagious, it is certainly not hereditary, and therefore, while it was necessary that lepers should be isolated, and live all together in one home, there was no reason why, in that home, marriage should not be permitted. With this opinion, however, Dr. Einsler, the Jerusalem physician, disagreed; the Moravian authorities felt bound to act on his advice; and, therefore, in the Leper Home, marriage was not permitted. By two methods, therefore, the Moravians hoped to exterminate leprosy in Palestine. First, they would gather all lepers into the Home, and secondly, they would prevent the disease being handed on to the next generation. Why, then, it may be asked, has this noble ambition not been realised? For three reasons: First, because there has never been enough money to build a large enough Home; secondly, because many lepers in Palestine still prefer their liberty; and thirdly, because some of the lepers themselves unintentionally thwarted the Brethren's efforts. The conduct of the Turkish Government was deplorable. Instead of encouraging the Moravians in

their efforts, the Turkish officials at Jerusalem opened a rival Leper Shelter at Siloah. There the lepers slept in filthy cells swarming with vermin; no doctor, no nurses, and no medicine were provided; and the one superior attraction in the Shelter was that there the lepers were allowed to marry and propagate their species. In the Turkish Leper Home children were born; in the Moravian Home the sexes were separated; and the consequence was that of the two institutions, the Turkish Shelter was preferred by many. In vain the Moravian nurses visited Siloah, and urged the patients to enter the Moravian Home. Most of the patients returned the same answer: "We should all come to you," they said, "if you did not separate us." Thus did the Turkish Government baffle the efforts of the Moravian Church to exterminate leprosy in Palestine.

3. *The Gospel Message.* We come here to a question frequently asked. Is the Leper Home merely a hospital, or is it also a religious institution? Do the nurses merely alleviate suffering, or do they also try to win souls for Christ? Do they try to change Mahometans into Christians? The question cannot be answered in one sentence. The position was difficult and delicate. At the outset Bishop Gopat declared that, while the staff would always do their best to relieve suffering, their chief purpose was to lead the patients "to the Good Physician," and yet, while the house-parents and the nurses really did make that their ambition, they were unable to employ the usual missionary methods. To preach Christ to a Mahometan was to insult him, and to insult him was to drive him from the Home. For forty-five years, therefore (1867-1912) the Home was managed on the principle that, while regular services were held, none but professing Christians were bound to attend; no Mahometan

was ever told that his religion was false or imperfect; and all the members of the staff preached Christ, not by direct appeals, but by acting in a Christian spirit. In all matters connected with worship, the fullest liberty of conscience was permitted. The Mahometans read the Koran and kept their fasts; the Greek Christians were allowed the services of a Greek Priest; and the other Christians attended services conducted by an Arab evangelist. The Mahometan patients were often a source of great trouble. Some of them were extremely bigoted, denounced the Christian religion as false and wicked, called all Christians dogs, made other biting remarks about the Christian lepers, and showed, by their sulky demeanour, that while they were glad to be relieved of pain, they resented the idea of receiving favours from Christians. With a few exceptions, the Mahometan patients refused to attend morning prayers; many of them grumbled about the house rules; and one year they petitioned the Mayor of Jerusalem to issue a decree that Mahometan and Christian lepers should not be compelled to live under the same roof.

But the chief difficulty with the Mahometans was their low moral standard. In spite of the fact that they received everything for nothing, they seemed to imagine that nearly everything in the Home belonged by right to them, and no nurse, in their opinion, had any right to refuse a request. Gratitude was rarely expressed, and even when it was, the expression was not always sincere. If a request was granted, they said, "God be your friend"; but if it was refused, they answered, "God curse you dead." At Christmas they compared presents, and accused the donors of favouritism; sometimes petty thefts were discovered; and once Schubert had to intervene to prevent certain poultry farmers from creating a monopoly in eggs. Still worse,

the Mahometan patients had no faith in the Christian law of forgiveness. Among the Mahometans revenge is a sacred duty; the man who forgives his enemy is a coward; and this belief was shared by some of the Christians. In 1903 Schubert had an enlightening experience. For some years an Arab living near the Home had proved a troublesome neighbour; now, having fallen on bad times, he came to Schubert for help; and all the patients were anxious to know how he would treat the case.

"Do not help that man," they begged; "now is your chance for revenge."

"Love your enemies," answered Schubert; "do good to them that hate you."

"But that is not to be taken literally," they said. "If you help that man there will be further trouble, and he will think you are afraid of him."

The man was helped; a good impression was made; and one honest Mahometan said: "You Christians are better than we are." At the same time we must not imagine that all the Mahometans were hopeless. By their superior moral tone, the Christian lepers exercised a great influence over the other patients, and sometimes Christians and Mahometans could be seen, in the friendliest spirit, comparing the Bible and the Koran. At Christmas, 1906, all the Mahometans attended the services, caught a little of the Christmas spirit, and thanked Schubert and the nurses for their kindness. Nor was their gratitude confined to words. Some helped the nurses in their work and brought flowers to beautify their rooms; some contributed to a common poor-box, and some even sent a subscription to a Jerusalem Orphanage.

At last, however, in 1912, an important change was made. At the suggestion of the local Jerusalem Committee, Kasis Farhud Kurban, an Arab, was appointed evangelist to the Home; and the curious

arrangement was that, while he preached once a week in the Home, he did not always preach in the same way. His method varied on alternate Sundays. One Sunday he preached the Gospel; on the other he preached truths common to both Mahometans and Christians; and now the new rule was made that at the second kind of service attendance was binding on all. At the first kind of service, only Christians were compelled to attend; at the second, all had to attend; and thus the Mahometans had to be present at least once a fortnight. For a brief period this new rule aroused fierce opposition. In vain the Mahometans were informed that the preacher would not say a word against their prophet; all the Mahometans except one revolted, saying that, rather than listen to the preacher, they would leave the Home, and during the next few weeks a few carried out their threat. As Farhud Kurban, however, showed great tact, the opposition gradually died down; and his latest encouraging report was that all the lepers were pleased to see him.

Let me close with a word of praise for the nurses. In spite of their depressing duties, they have always been cheerful, and Sister Bertha, after a furlough, made a characteristic remark: "There is nothing more delightful," she said, "than to be back in the Leper Home."

Chapter V.

DEMERARA, 1878—1914.

For the origin of the Mission in Demerara we must turn to the once famous philanthropist, Quintin Hogg.† At that time Quintin Hogg was well-known both in England and in Demerara. In London he was famous because he had recently founded the Polytechnic Institute; in evangelical circles he was known because he was a great supporter of D. L. Moody; and in Demerara, which he frequently visited, he was well-known, partly because he owned many sugar plantations, partly because, on those plantations, he had introduced many improvements in the manufacture of sugar, and partly because he always showed a deep interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of his employees. Quintin Hogg was a very broad-minded man; his theology has been called the "theology of love"; and, holding that an imperfect religion was better than no religion at all, he even helped to build mosques for Mahometans. His connexion with Moravian Missions sprang partly from his business activities. For some years he was the senior partner in the firm of Hogg, Curtis, Campbell & Co.; this firm owned sugar estates at Graham's Hall and Reliance in Demerara; and now Quintin Hogg informed the Moravian Mission Board that, if the Moravian Church would supply chaplains for those two estates, he would cover all expenses for five years. His reason for appealing to the Moravians was natural. Among the workmen on his estates, several were Moravian Negroes, who had recently come from Barbados;

†On Quintin Hogg, see "Quintin Hogg: a Biography." By his daughter, Ethel M. Hogg. (*Archibald Constable & Co.*, 1906.)

and Hogg, who had visited Barbados, was probably acquainted with the Moravian work in that island. The Moravian Mission Board accepted his offer; two Negro chaplains, Henry Moore and Alexander Pilgrim, were appointed; and on the two estates he had named—Graham's Hall (1878), near the coast, and Reliance (1882)—regular services were held. For a little over five years Quintin Hogg covered the expenses; then, in 1885, he withdrew his Reliance subscription, and the work there had to be closed; and finally, when the sea encroached on his land and the sugar industry became less prosperous, he informed the Brethren that all he could spare was a Church and a few acres of land. For this reason the Graham's Hall station was removed a few miles further inland; the new Church and land were accepted as a parting gift; and henceforward the expense of the Mission fell almost entirely on Moravian shoulders. Thus did a work begun as a chaplaincy become a true missionary effort, and finally, Demerara (1908) was officially recognised as a separate missionary province.

In one sense the work in Demerara is unique. Of all the Moravian Mission Fields, Demerara alone, from first to last, has been worked entirely by native ministers, and the experiment has proved a striking success. For twenty-eight years the leader was 1878-96
Henry Moore, a Barbados Negro, and no missionary ever rendered more faithful service. At first the prospect seemed hopeless. As Hogg's workmen had been brought over from Barbados, they were all supposed, in theory, to be Christians, and some of them had come from Moravian stations. In reality, however, they had all become slaves of vice. For religion and morals they now cared absolutely nothing. No marriage laws were recognised, and most of their hard-earned money was spent on cards,

horse-racing, and drink. For some years several overseers opposed the work. "I would rather give five dollars for a rum-shop," said one, "than one shilling to help to build a church." Nevertheless, Moore soon saw a striking change. In addition to the Church at Graham's Hall, he also, at the members'
1832 request, took charge of a Congregational Church named Beterverwachting (Tabernacle); and in due time Beterverwachting became a Moravian Station. The great feature of Moore's work was his thorough moral teaching. For this reason the people called him Moses, and a stern and unbending Moses he was. The more he studied the lives of the people, the more clearly he perceived that, while they loved the House of God, they also loved certain pleasant sins, and Moore had continually to show them that those sins were really forbidden in the Bible. With the same purpose, he also persuaded them to read the Bible every day; founded a lending library; and distributed "Good News," "The Gospel Trumpet," "The Band of Hope Review," and the "Moravian Missionary Reporter." In five years he saw a great transformation. The godless became true worshippers; his members were all abstainers, and the men who used to bet on horses now dropped their spare money into the collection box. Once a year Moore sent off an official report, and splendid reading some of those reports were. In his judgment the essential point was, not the mere number of members, but the change in those members' lives, and on that change he generally laid the stress. "No one," he would say, "has committed a murder; no one has been drunk and disorderly; no drink has been used at the marriage feasts; and no one has had to be brought before magistrates." His success, of course, was not perfect. With all his skill, he found it hard to convince his people that telling lies was wicked, and still

worse, they were slow to learn that wife-beating was not a Christian amusement. The great positive virtue of the people was their liberality. As soon as Hogg withdrew his subscription, the demands on their purses were heavy, and yet, though the sugar trade was bad, they bore three-fourths of the expenses. Thus did Moore lead the Demerara Negroes from the Egypt of sin to the Promised Land of godly living.

His successor, John Dingwall (1897), was equally efficient. In consequence of his noble character, John Dingwall was soon an honoured figure in the Colony, and having received a good education in the Moravian Training School at Fairfield, Jamaica, he was able to comport himself both as a Christian and a gentleman. At first he, too, found the people in a sad condition. The more the sugar industry declined, the more the workmen were tempted to seek higher wages in the towns, and in these towns they might relapse into vicious habits. For the sake of those who had flocked to Georgetown, he built both a Church and a Secondary School (1902-1904) at Queenstown,† and with the special goodwill of the Anglican Bishop, he commenced a Mission to the Coolies at Ogle's Industry, Cumming's Lodge, and Turkeyen. His assistants, Francis and Grant, were both Negroes; his evangelist to the Hindoos, Buccus, was an East Indian; and thus the whole work was in native hands. For that very reason, perhaps, the work was officially honoured. At the annual meeting of the Bible Society in Georgetown, the Moravian Choir was asked to lead the singing; the Mayor of Georgetown presided at the opening of the Brethren's "Comenius School"; and the Governor himself contributed to Moravian Church Funds.

1897-1914

†Queenstown is a suburb of Georgetown.

But the chief feature of the work in Demerara was the church activity of the members. Demerara may be called the field of many societies. For their desire to learn, for their willingness to work, and for their liberality, the native Christians of Demerara are unexcelled in the Moravian Church. Among the religious societies mentioned by Dingwall, we find a Women's Mite Missionary Society, a Men's "Macedonian Band," a Men's Brotherhood for Bible Study, a "Lyceum," two or three Christian Endeavour Societies, and a Women's Working Society; Girl Guides, Penny Banks, Friendly and Burial Societies, were also formed; and all these societies helped to raise the intellectual and moral tone of the people. At the "Brotherhood" some of the young men learned to write sermons; at the meetings of the Missionary Societies such magazines as "Moravian Missions," "China's Millions," and "Regions Beyond" were carefully studied; and most of the societies also contributed generously to Church Funds. Why then, it may be asked, has the work in Demerara not been still more successful? How is it that in 1914 there were still only three congregations, Graham's Hall, Queenstown, and Beterverwachting; only three day-schools and thirteen Sunday Schools; only five hundred and seventy-nine communicants; and only two thousand four hundred and forty-one Sunday scholars? The answer will be largely found in the economic state of the colony.

At the time when the Mission began, Demerara was studded with sugar plantations; since then many of these have been closed; and though the Government made repeated attempts, no alternative industry could be found. In the country districts there was little irrigation, and this defect made farming a poor business. At the time, however,

when the Great War broke out, optimists had begun to predict better things. Rice-growing had increased; the Government had a scheme for a Bank Loan, so that farmers might become freeholders; rumour said that in the south both gold and diamonds had been discovered; and Sir Walter Egerton, the Governor, after a tour to the southern border, hinted that a railway in the hinterland might be constructed. Such prospects gave the missionaries new hope. There, in the south of the colony, their converts might at last be able to earn good wages; there new Churches might be built; and the Gospel standard might even be carried across the border to Brazil.

Chapter VI.

ALASKA, 1885—1914.

1. An Urgent Appeal.

For the origin of the Mission in Alaska we turn to a pathetic letter addressed to the Moravian authorities at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and written by Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Secretary of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church.† In 1867 the United States bought Alaska from Russia for £1,400,000; a few years later the Presbyterians began a Mission to the Alaskan Indians, near Suka, in Eastern Alaska; and now Dr. Sheldon Jackson, after appealing to other Churches in vain, suggested that the Moravian Church should commence a Mission to the Eskimos. At that time, he said, the total population of Alaska was about 34,000; two-thirds of the inhabitants were Eskimos, living mostly on the coast; and though the Greek Church had established a Mission on the islands, most of the Eskimos were still absolute heathen. "If you refuse," he said, "those heathen must go down to ruin in the dark."

The American Moravians acted promptly. At the annual meeting of their S.P.G. (August 23rd, 1883), Dr. Sheldon Jackson's letter was read; five theological students volunteered for service; and next year (1884), two men, William Weinland and Adolphus Hartmann, set sail from San Francisco, interviewed a Greek priest on the island of Oonalaska,
1884 crossed the Behring Sea in a ship belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company, and pushing up the

†He was afterwards United States General Agent of Education in Alaska. He was also author of a book, "Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast."

Kuskokwim River, discovered, some seventy miles from the mouth, an important trading station. On that day, June 20th, 1884, the Old Testament text in the Text Book was: "God said unto Jacob, arise, go up to Bethel and dwell there, and make there an altar unto God that appeared to thee"; such an encouraging message could not be ignored; and, therefore, the two explorers decided, not only that here they would build the first station, but also that its name should be "Bethel."

There, in fact, a year later, the first station was 1885
founded; there the first three missionaries, William Weinland, an American, John Kilbuck, a Delaware, and John Torgersen, a Norwegian carpenter, arrived in the *Bethel Star*, and there they made their first acquaintance with the Eskimos. At the very outset, however, a disaster occurred. On August 10th, 1885, John Torgersen fell overboard and was drowned; a few weeks later his dead body was found; and Weinland and Kilbuck, who knew little of carpentry, settled down to the task of building a house.

Let us here take a brief glance at the Eskimos. At the time when this Mission was projected there appears to have been a widespread impression that those Eskimos in Alaska who had not yet been corrupted by contact with civilisation were far superior, both physically and intellectually, to the Eskimos of Greenland and Labrador; and such Eskimos, it was said, were so peaceable, sober, industrious, and virtuous, that one writer called them the Quakers of Alaska. But the missionaries did not find this description justified. In several respects the Eskimos of Alaska were far inferior to those of Labrador. The difference was largely due to climatic causes. In Labrador the Eskimos fed on seals and walruses, and thereby acquired great

physical vigour; in Alaska the chief diet was fish, game, rabbits, and home-bred fowls; and this lighter diet caused a change for the worse both in the body and in the disposition. The Labrador Eskimo was active and bold; the Alaskan Eskimo was both more sluggish and more timid. In Labrador the Eskimos lived near the sea, and grew accustomed to facing the winter storms; in Alaska they lived on the river banks, and did not need to hunt except in the summer. But the chief differences were found in social and family life. In Labrador each family occupied its own wood-hut or tent; in Alaska several families lived together in a large underground house known as a burra-burra; and there the people adopted a system of common housekeeping which made decency impossible. For both filth and immorality the burra-burra was hard to rival. In the middle was the common-room, with a smoke-hole at the top; around this room were smaller rooms, each occupied by a family; and the barrier between these rooms was so low that privacy was impossible. The atmosphere in the burra-burra was foul; no windows existed, and, therefore, no sunlight could enter; and the consequence of those insanitary conditions was that, though the Alaskan climate is bracing, many of the people were consumptive and two-thirds of the children died in infancy. But the moral atmosphere was even worse than the physical. At the age of ten nearly every girl was compelled by her father's orders to become a prostitute; later, when they thought she might marry, her parents would sell her by auction to the highest bidder; and most of the women—so, at least, Mrs. John Kilbuck reported—appear to have had ten or twelve husbands before settling down to domestic life.

Nor were the Alaskan Eskimos humanitarians. In

spite of a certain geniality of disposition, most of them seem to have taken pleasure in cruelty. Little compassion for the sick was shewn, and surplus children and old people were often killed. The first missionaries heard some horrible stories. At Bethel an infuriated husband, suspecting his wife of witchcraft, clubbed her to death and burned her body in oil. At another place a woman took a boy to the water's edge, fastened him down with a stake, and left him to die; at another, a man chopped a witch to pieces; and one man, being plagued with a lunatic aunt, froze her to death.

Above all, so far as the missionaries could discover, the Alaskan Eskimos seem to have lost most of their old religious beliefs. Both in Labrador and in Greenland the Eskimos seem to have believed in the existence of a Supreme Spirit; no such spirit, however, was known in Alaska; and most of the people held the opinion that, even if such a God could be proved to exist, He did not take any interest in poor people. "There cannot be a God," said one man, "who cares for us, for I never received anything from Him." According to one modern writer,† some of the Eskimos near Behring Straits related how a spirit named Selu made the first man out of clay, and others, like the Eskimos of Greenland, had preserved traditions of the Great Flood. But the Eskimos never prayed to God in trouble. In some of the houses the missionaries found carved wooden figures and masks, and those idols, said the people, not only cured diseases, but gave fish and seals. At heart, therefore, the Eskimos were really idolaters.* Still worse, they were held in bondage by the

†E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimos About Behring Strait," quoted by Sir J. G. Frazer in his "Folk Lore in the Old Testament," Vol. I., p. 327.

*See J. Hinz's Report, "Periodical Accounts," December, 1909, p. 463.

"shamans," or witch-doctors. According to these "shamans," who claimed to be able to float in the air and to possess other supernatural powers, all diseases were caused by evil spirits; with these spirits only the "shamans" could cope; and, in order to add to their own power, they encouraged various superstitions. If there was an eclipse of the sun, there would be a famine; if there was an eclipse of the moon, there would be an epidemic; and if a man jumped over a sledge or even ventured to have his hair cut, he would die a sudden death. Nor were these evils compensated for by any firm belief in immortality. For four or five days after death, said the Eskimos, the soul hovered near its old home; what became of it afterwards no one knew; and thus the people may truly be said to have lived without God and without hope.

2. THE STORY OF BETHEL, 1885—1914.

1885 At this time much interest was aroused in Moravian circles by the fact that John Kilbuck, one of the missionaries, was descended from a Delaware King, Gelelemend, a prominent Christian in the days of Zeisberger. For some years Kilbuck was Superintendent of the Alaska Mission; by him and William Weinland the work at Bethel was begun; and both men exhibited heroic qualities. For two years they both suffered intensely. The first task was to protect themselves against the cold. In spite of their imperfect knowledge of house-building, they managed somehow to build a rough log-house. For that climate, however, a log-house was almost useless. The thermometer often fell eighty degrees below freezing point; the days were short and cheerless; and the winds cut like a razor. Inside the log-house there was neither beauty nor comfort. The carpet rotted with damp; the mattresses were mouldy;

and frost half-an-inch thick gathered on the window panes. For a long time Kilbuck suffered much from snow-blindness; his wife, half frozen, was nearly a cripple; and Weinland, breaking down altogether, had to leave for a warmer clime. We shall meet him again, however, in another field.

For a whole winter after Weinland had gone, John Kilbuck and his wife were alone in Bethel; and once, when Kilbuck was away on a journey, his wife, with an ailing child to look after, waited patiently at Bethel for no fewer than seventy-three days (December 3rd, 1888—February 14th, 1889). In Moravian circles those seventy-three days became famous, and Mrs. Kilbuck was honoured as a heroine.

(*a*) *Gospel Preaching.* For a few months Kilbuck, aided by a trader, could only talk by signs; then, having good linguistic gifts, he mastered the language; and by Christmas, 1887, he was able to speak in public. With Christmas festivities he made his first great appeal. For the first time there was quite a crowd at Bethel. The story of Bethlehem was told; the children sang "Softly the Night" and other carols; the curtains were drawn, and the Christmas tree revealed; and presents were given out to young and old. From that moment Kilbuck began to note progress. The people seemed delighted to hear of Christ; next year, the Passion Week services were well attended; and on Good Friday, 1888, the first heart was touched. The incident reminded Kilbuck of the story of Kayarnak. Once more, as in Greenland, the first deep impression was produced by the Passion History. "Thank you," said an old man, after hearing the story of Calvary, "we too want a share of the blood of Jesus to take away our sins."

At Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, the news of this speech was described as electric; in September some

Eskimos became communicants; and in two years the number had risen to over a hundred.

Meanwhile, John Kilbuck had visited the surrounding villages. As Greek priests had worked in the neighbourhood already, the people, in some cases, knew a little about Christianity, and most of them seemed anxious to learn more. In every village he received a warm welcome. As his sledge swung in, the people came out to greet him. The men nodded their heads; the boys stood smiling; and the women kept in the background. The dogs were unharnessed; the sledge unloaded; the kettle was boiled in a burra-burra, and the service was held in a public hall, known as the kashige. As Kilbuck crossed the kashige threshold, the old village fathers rose to greet him. "Shamai? How do?" they cried in chorus. In those kashiges Kilbuck first preached the Gospel. At the close of the service the women retired to their homes, and the men stayed behind to discuss the sermon.

But these villages were not all of the same kind. In the river-side villages north of Bethel the people soon mended their ways. In those to the south they clung to their sins, and in those on the tundra the men defiantly beat drums; and Kilbuck, therefore, paid special attention to the villages north of Bethel. In each of these villages he was soon able to appoint native assistants. They came to Bethel for instruction, repeated their lesson in the villages, and illustrated their remarks with pictures. In order to let the natives know when it was Sunday, they used a little wooden tablet with holes. Along the edge of the tablet were six holes, marking the week-days; in the middle was a hole for Sunday; the Helper marked the process of time with a peg; and when his peg reached the middle hole, he knew that Sunday had come. At an early period one Helper, Hooker, had

a most terrible experience. For some reason—possibly previous sins—he suddenly became a lunatic; and his relatives actually stripped him naked, and threw him to the hungry dogs. In spite, however, of this disaster the Gospel made progress. At one village the chief sorcerer, Little Whetstone, was converted; at another the people offered to build their own Church; and in 1894 Kilbuck reported that in the whole district between Bethel and Ogavik not one single heathen festival had been held. For some time, however, many of the heathen refused to give up their immoral habits.

"It never marred our happiness before," they said, "so why should we give it up?"

"But why do you do such dreadful things?"

"It is our custom."

At length, however, better customs prevailed; the Helpers set a splendid example; and Bethel was surrounded by sixteen preaching places.

(*b*) *Education: the School at Bethel.* For this purpose the Government provided £60 per annum; but on the other hand they laid down the condition that each year the school must be open at least two hundred days. As the morals in the children's homes were so bad, a mere day-school would have been useless, and, therefore, nearly all the children were boarders. No stranger boarding-school existed in North America. The staff consisted of the missionary, his wife, and a lady teacher; the building was a small log-house; and the pupils were the dirtiest children on God's earth. Inside the house the general impression was a mixture of water and oil. The pupils came in with wet feet; the lamps had an oily smell; the trout, cooking at the kitchen fire, dribbled oil on the floor; and all day long coats, caps, and boots hung before the fire to dry. In that school, however, lay the brightest hopes for the future. For those boys

1887

no better education could have been provided. From the first, great attention was paid to practical details. The first lesson was cleanliness. For the first time in history Alaskan boys had their hair cut; every newcomer had a bath and a new suit; and the girls, to their mothers' great astonishment, explored the mysteries of the wash-tub. For the first time, also, the boys learned to take their share in household management. At an early hour one rose and lighted the fires; two others washed the dishes and scrubbed the rooms; another trimmed the lamps; and others split wood for the fire. The daily programme was varied. In the morning the usual elementary subjects were taught; in the afternoon the boys learned carpentry, and the girls domestic economy. As the boys generally spent the summer in hunting, the school could be held only in the winter months, and with the girls the great difficulty was that early in their teens they were generally sold in marriage.

"It is too bad," said little Janie, "that I can't come to school any more. I should like to come, but I have been given to a man."

As the Government rendered more and more help, the staff was steadily increased; the most modern American school-books, such as Baker's "Action Primer," were used; and the children not only read interesting books, such as "Around the World" and "Eskimo Stories," but revelled in the old jingle of "Mother Goose." For many years this boarding-school at Bethel was the only school in Alaska; then, at the request of the Government, an Industrial School was opened; and here, while the girls made skin boots and shoes, the boys learned fishing, gardening, net-making, and the use of machinery.

(*c*) *Medical Work.* In this department the Brethren accomplished little. For six years (1897-

1903) Dr. J. H. Romig acted both as medical missionary and as Superintendent of the Mission; then, however, he retired, and as no successor was found, the Brethren could only use simple remedies and teach the people to be clean.

(*d*) *The Introduction of Reindeer.* At Dr. Sheldon Jackson's suggestion, the Alaskan Board of Education introduced herds of reindeer. For several reasons, he said, reindeer would be beneficial to the Eskimos. Both the flesh and the milk were nutritious and digestible; from the skin both clothes and leather could be made; and the Eskimos, by acting as shepherds, would find congenial occupation. At the special request of the Government, the Brethren established a reindeer station at Bethel. The Government lent the reindeer for five years; the missionary supplied the apprentices and enforced the Government's regulations; and the Mission, in return for its services, received so many reindeer in payment. But the chief benefit came to the Eskimos. If the shepherd fulfilled all the conditions, he might become an owner of reindeer, use his profits to buy a house, and thereby become a respectable citizen. 1901

But this was not the best result of the Mission. At the close of 1913 Bethel was a prosperous Christian village. Among the members several were Native Helpers; these men studied theology seven hours a day; and by them the Gospel was preached at Akiak, Akiatshuak, Tuluksak, Ogavik, Quingillingok, and other villages in the neighbourhood. Thus did Bethel become true to its name.

3. THE STORY OF CARMEL, 1887—1906.

The story of Carmel is a tragedy. For the failure of the Mission at this station—situated further east, near the mouth of the Nushagak—the responsibility must be laid, partly on the opposition

of the Greek Church, and partly on the evil example of certain Chinese and Japanese workmen employed at the neighbouring salmon canneries. The conduct of the local priest was disgraceful. In order to undermine the Brethren's influence, he enticed the children from the boarding-school, informed the Eskimos that the Brethren were servants of the devil, and not only took to drink himself, but even encouraged the people to follow his example. The influence of the Chinese was even worse. Among other things, they taught the Eskimos to brew a fiery liquor, and giving way to this temptation, the people rapidly drank themselves to death.

4. THE STORY OF QUINHAGAK, 1903—1914.

At this station, which lies further down the Kuskokwim, the chief feature to notice is that, while the missionaries did not neglect to preach the Gospel, they also made a systematic attempt to raise the natives in other ways.

(*a*) The chief missionary here was Schöchert. For some months he used his muscles far more than his tongue. His chief purpose was to abolish dirt. First, with the aid of the natives, he drained the land, erected a curing-house, and built a manse and a Church; then he made a wooden path through the village; and then he erected a row of houses, with a wooden path leading to each front door. Thus did the Eskimos learn to avoid bringing mud into their houses.

(*b*) Secondly, Schöchert taught the people to be diligent in business. In accordance with Government instructions, he arranged that, in the day-school, two hours daily should be devoted to industrial subjects. The boys learned to make skates, kites, handkerchiefs, and children's toys; the girls made dresses and Christmas "cookies"; and the young

women were taught to prepare rice, fish, beans, and oatmeal. By degrees, therefore, Quinhagak became a hive of industry; and nearly all the adults became skilled workers. Some, like their kinsmen at Bethel, tended the reindeer; others dried fish, raised emperor geese and made furs; others, especially the women, made grass-baskets; and as the missionary put these goods on the market, the natives, with the profits thus gained, could buy goods at a general village store.

(*c*) *Health.* In addition to treating simple cases, the missionaries also taught the people how to take care of their health. The men learned how to treat cuts and bruises; the women brought their babies to the school for a bath and a change of underwear; and the children not only learned how to make cheese-cloth bandages, but also had regular lessons in the laws of health. For this latter purpose two books on hygiene, "The Primer of Sanitation" and "The Human Body and Health," were used; each child had a separate drinking cup, and was told the reason; and the head-mistress visited the homes and explained the importance of scalding pots and pans. The change in the people's ideas was remarkable. Formerly they had dreaded evil spirits; now they waged war on bacteria; and the missionaries gave them to understand that in this warfare there was a prospect of victory. "The children," said the head-mistress, "seem much interested in the study of their bodies and the cause and prevention of disease. They realise well what a terrible foe they have in tuberculosis."

(*d*) *Morals.* In order to overcome certain dangerous amusements—such as the heathen "festivals"—the missionaries arranged that, as far as possible, every evening, at least in the winter,

should be well occupied. First, there was evening prayer in the schoolroom for all; then there were classes for singing and knitting; and the people were taught that such occupations were far better than plays and masquerades. No white traders were allowed in the village; no drink was sold; and no man who played cards could become a Native Helper.

(*e*) *Religious Instruction.* Let us not imagine that the converts were ignorant. At the confirmation classes the candidates learned the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the words of institution for the Holy Communion, and several hymns and passages of scripture. But one of the chief objects of the missionaries was to make religious worship attractive. At the morning service they sang duets and trios, and at the evening service they used a gramophone. In all their work the missionaries received much aid from the Native Helpers. Some of those Helpers became efficient preachers, and knew how to speak plainly to the people about their sins. In two senses Quinhagak became a light to the district. For the benefit of mariners, the Brethren put a light in the belfry. But the brightest light was the piety of the Helpers.

5. THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

For some years before the Great War broke out, the U.S.A. Government, acting on Viscount Bryce's principle that one of the chief duties of rulers is to protect natives against unscrupulous traders, had taken steps to protect the Eskimos against the evil influence of gold-seekers; and this action on the part of the Government affected some of the Brethren's methods of work. At Bethel the Government stationed both an inspector and a physician; then it took over the Brethren's boarding-school; next

it opened day-schools in the neighbourhood; and finally, in 1913, it announced that it intended to take over education entirely. Thus did the Brethren in Alaska lose, to some extent, their control over the young people; and the action of the Government caused many questions to be asked: Had the Government really acted wisely? Would the moral influence in the Government Schools be as high as in the Moravian Schools? And would the Moravians themselves be able to supply teachers for the Government schools? Such questions only the future could answer.

Chapter VII.

CALIFORNIA, OR THE RAMONA MISSION, 1889—1914.

The first impulse was given by a lady novelist. For some years literary circles in the United States had been reading with pleasure the poetry of a lady who signed herself "H.H."; in 1873 she increased her reputation by publishing "Bits of Travel"; in 1881 she wrote a good novel, "A Century of Dishonour"; and now, in her still finer novel, "Ramona"† (1884)—written after a visit to California—this lady, known now as Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, gave such a vivid description of certain crimes committed by whites against Californian Red Indians that widespread public interest was aroused. Mrs. Jackson's novel was based on first-hand evidence. In order to make quite sure of her facts she stayed at a little hotel in St. Jacinto; there she interviewed many Indians and made copious notes; and the landlady afterwards shewed to visitors the stool on which the novelist had sat. The state of things described in Ramona was atrocious. In open defiance of Californian law, white traders, said Mrs. Jackson, had often encroached on Indian territory, stolen Indian property, and then, when the Indians attempted vengeance, had them condemned by corrupt judges; and so keen was the indignation aroused that several societies on behalf of the Indians were immediately formed. Among these societies one was called "The Women's National Indians' Association";

†"Ramona" has recently been re-published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co. In the "Cambridge History of American Literature" it is described as "passionately pleading the cause of the Indians of California." See Vol. III., p. 86. On its literary merits, see p. 89.

this society now appealed to the Moravian Church; and the precise offer made was that, if the Moravians would supply a missionary, the Association would build a house and church and cover all expenses for at least a year. In response to this suggestion, William Weinland was appointed; taking his wife and children with him, he settled down at Potrero, an Indian village twenty-five miles east of Los Angeles; and there and then the first Moravian Mission Station in California was built. 1890

As the Indians were then in a very degraded state—so degraded that an English visitor called them a "sorry lot"—Weinland very soon discovered that he had undertaken a hard task. At the very outset, however, he had a pleasant surprise. At that time the most important Indian in the village was a certain Captain John Morongo; this man met Weinland at the Railway Station at Banning; and forthwith Morongo informed Weinland that if the missionary desired to purchase land, he would secure the goodwill of his people. "We all want you at Potrero," he said. "If you will settle here, I will get the consent of the tribe. You will, I fear, find us old folk a hard nut to crack; but perhaps you'll be able to make something of the young ones." With the consent of the Indians, therefore, Weinland bought five acres; the Women's National Indians' Association provided the promised money for the school and church; and a year later the whole station became Moravian property. Potrero is 2,000 feet above sea-level, and is on the southern slope of Mt. Graybok. The site is between two mountain ranges. On the north side stretch the St. Bernardino Hills; on the south the St. Jacinto Hills; and the district to the east is called the Colorado desert. In due time two more stations were founded, Martinez (1896) a little to the north-west of Dry Salt Lake,

and Rincon (1902) some miles further south; and La Jolla† and Pechanga, between these last two, were preaching places. In the numerical sense this Mission might be called disappointing. At the close of twenty-three years of labour the total number of communicant members was only 104; the number of Sunday scholars was only 180; and the average attendance at the four places of worship was only 41. But the real value of this Mission cannot be judged by statistics. In addition to their work as preachers of the Gospel, William Weinland and his colleagues have had several difficult problems to solve; they have acted, not merely as preachers, but as resolute social reformers; and the value of their work must be judged, not merely by the number of converts they have gained, but by their success in improving the conditions of Indian life. Let us now study the five great problems with which these missionaries have had to deal.

1. *The Land Problem.* This problem was really due to the unsatisfactory American system of land tenure. According to that system the Indians lived on so many Indian Reservations. In each case the land was granted by the Government, not to an individual, but to a tribe; this tribe, in turn, sublet allotments to farmers; and each farmer, in theory, was entitled to so many acres. If he was married, he was entitled to twenty; if he was single, he had only ten; and the under-lying principle was that, in either case, the Indian, having security of property, would cease to be an idle vagabond and become an industrious farmer. As long as he paid his rent, it was said, he could not be legally dispossessed. First, the Government guaranteed land to the tribe; then the tribe guaranteed land to the farmer; and thus, in

†Pronounced "La Hoya."

theory, the system was ideal. But Weinland very soon made some strange discoveries. At the time of his arrival the land laws of California were still in such a state of confusion, that Weinland could not feel sure that the Moravian Church owned its own property,† and eighteen so-called Indian Reservations had not yet been confirmed by Congress. But the chief cause of trouble was the Reservation system itself. The mode of land tenure in California was similar to that in Indian Territory, and it led to exactly the same results. As long as the farmer rented his land from a tribe, he had no security of tenure; the Indians themselves saw where the fault lay, and were constantly holding meetings on the land question; and most of the Indians, so far from being good farmers, roamed the land like tramps, ate like dogs from stone plates, drank to excess and allowed their children to run about half naked in winter and stark naked in summer. "The Reservation System," said Weinland, "must go. If the Indian is to make a good farmer, he must not be under the control of the tribe; he must have a Government trust-deed; and, if he proves himself worthy, he must be allowed to become a freeholder." For twenty-three years (1890-1913) Weinland agitated in vain; and in 1913 he said, "There is no positive guarantee that an Indian, after improving a piece of land, will ever own it." At last he saw a faint gleam of hope. In November, 1913, he was summoned to

†The process of making the Moravian property secure took twenty-seven years to accomplish. The chief steps were as follows:—

(*a*) Law passed (1887) that, with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, a missionary society may occupy 100 acres.

(*b*) The Attorney General declares (1890) that no society may occupy land without the consent of the Indians.

(*c*) Martinez (1903) declared an Indian Reservation.

(*d*) A missionary society may hold land in fee simple (1909).

(*e*) The Moravian Church granted full patent rights in her property (1914).

appear before the Indian Committee of Congress at Los Angeles, there he was cross-examined for an hour; and next month a Bill was introduced whereby land might be "pro-rated" to individual Indians. But once more Weinland was doomed to disappointment; all kinds of official delays occurred; and Weinland's last report was that no practical steps had yet been taken.†

But Weinland was not content with mere agitation. With the aid of borrowed money, he and his colleagues let fruit-farms to the Indians, both at Potrero and Martinez. In each case the Indians promptly repaid the loan; Indian fruit-farming became a flourishing business; and thus Weinland proved that, given his chance, the Indian can become both industrious and thrifty.

Thirdly, at the request of the missionaries, the Government sank several artesian wells. In 1890 Martinez was a desert; in 1914 it was producing alfalfa and melons; and the Indians now lived in better cottages and enjoyed better health.

2. *The Drink Problem.* This problem was closely connected with the land problem. As long as the Indians had no security of tenure, they were naturally tempted to neglect their farms and earn good wages by working for the whites; and although by law no licensed victualler was allowed to sell drink to Indians, so much whisky was smuggled in that the law was often a dead letter. The so-called annual "Indian Fair" was also a source of trouble. As this institution was sanctioned by the Government, the Indians argued that it must be respectable; and yet it was really the occasion of much horse-racing, gambling, and all-night dancing. In order to overcome these evils Weinland gave a series of

†See "Periodical Accounts," September, 1915.

lectures on temperance, shewed the evils of drink by means of a lantern, and persuaded many of the hardest drinkers to take the pledge. In 1891 he had often to stop drunken brawls in the village; in 1895 he reported that no more drunkards were left at Potrero; and in 1913 nearly all his people there were abstainers.

3. *The School Problem.* The case of California is almost unique. In California the education of Indian children is entirely in the hands of the Government. On the Indian Reservations the Government opened day-schools; for older children there were also Government boarding-schools at Banning and Riverside; and the consequence of this arrangement has been that, while the missionaries can teach the children on Sundays, they have little influence over them during the week. For ten months each year the older children are all away at boarding-schools. In the reports from California, therefore, no day-schools are mentioned, and the only educational privilege granted the Brethren was that Weinland was allowed to visit the boarding-schools and give the Moravian pupils Bible instruction.

4. *The Medical Problem.* The most common disease among the Indians was tuberculosis. In order to teach the people good habits, the Government appointed matrons; but the real difficulty in the matter was that the Indians, being regarded as "wards" of the Government, could not be admitted to the public hospitals. Why, then, it might be asked, did not the Moravian Church build a hospital? Because there was no money for the purpose.

5. *The Religious Problem.* According to three missionaries in California—William Weinland, David Woosley, and C. Delbo—the chief opposition to

Moravian work has sprung from the Church of Rome. For some years the Church of Rome had neglected the Indians; now they renewed their activities; and, not content with legitimate methods—not content, *i.e.*, to build chapels, to preach, and to visit—they resorted to other methods unworthy of Christians:—

(*a*) First, they employed falsehood and violence. At the very outset of the Moravian campaign the local Catholic priest informed the Indians that the Bible used by Protestants was written by Martin Luther, that Luther had committed suicide, and that all who attended the Moravian Church would go to purgatory. One Roman Catholic Indian shot at Weinland; other Indians, incited by a priest, stole into Captain Morongo's house, and smeared his meat and potatoes with strychnine; and when a Moravian convert died of pneumonia a priest said that all who attended the Moravian Church would suffer the same fate.

(*b*) The second method was the use of Government officials. At one time, *e.g.*, Superintendent Sullivan, instigated by Catholics, actually asked the Indian Office to expel Weinland from California (1912); and, when his request was refused, he suggested that the Moravians at Potrero should be allowed to own only the land covered by the Mission buildings.

In California, therefore, the success of the Moravian work depends largely on the personal character of the local government official. If he is a fair-minded man, the missionaries can pursue their work in peace; if he is a religious bigot, difficulties are placed in their way; and the Roman Catholics constantly

endeavour to have as many Roman Catholic officials appointed as possible. Thus, *e.g.*, in 1912, the missionaries could make little progress. At Rincon the sub-agent was a Roman Catholic; at La Jolla the Government day-school teacher was a Roman Catholic; and such officials took care to inform the Indians that if they attended the Moravian Church they had less chance of obtaining certain privileges from the Government. To be a Roman Catholic was to be favoured by officials; to be a Protestant was to be insulted. Above all, declared Weinland, the priests pandered to the popular love of sinful pleasure. Weinland would not allow his converts to attend the Indian "fiestas" or festivals; the priests encouraged these festivals and claimed to give them a religious flavour; and Weinland conscientiously believed that the priests gained more converts than he did—not because they were more efficient or devoted, but because they placed before the people a lower moral ideal.

"Is it warm in California?" said a friend to Weinland.

"No," said Weinland, "it is hot."

And those words were true of more than the climate.

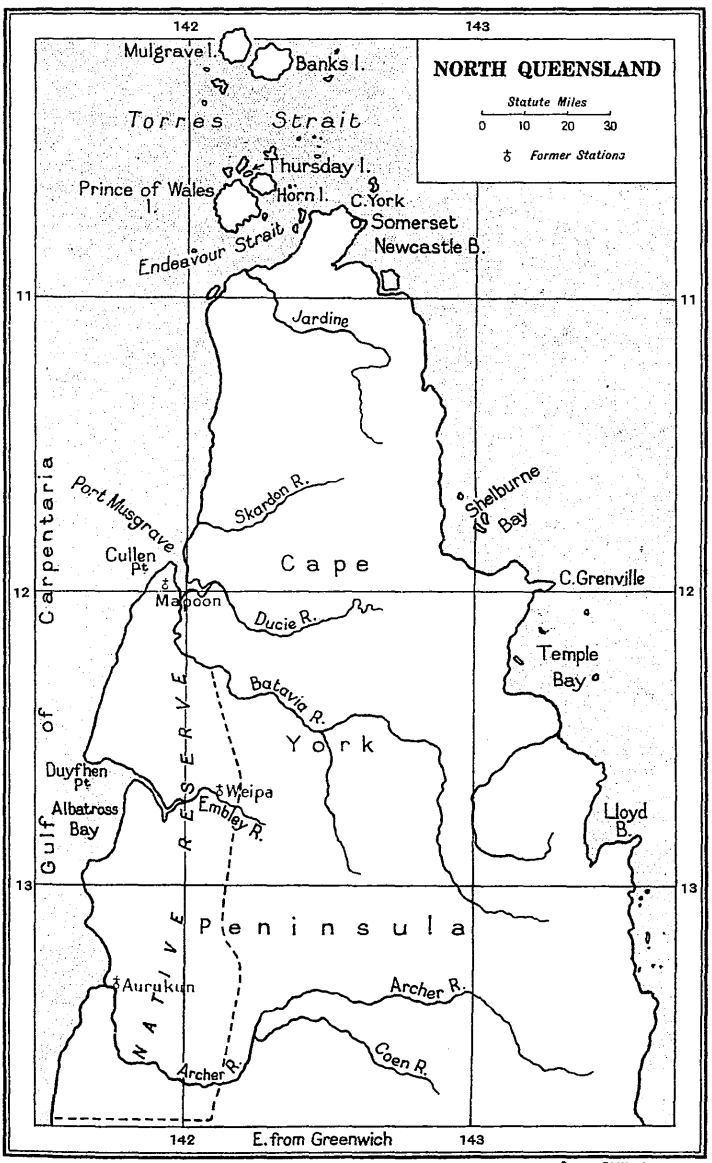
Chapter VIII.

NORTH QUEENSLAND, 1891—1914.

1. The Strange Approach.

Once more we have a fine example of co-operation between two Churches. For some years the Presbyterians of Victoria impressed by Hagenauer's work at Ramahyuck, had been taking an increasing interest in Foreign Missions; in 1887 Hagenauer himself visited the north-east coast of Queensland; soon afterwards, at Sydney, he addressed the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Australia; and finally, in 1890, A. Hardie, the Moderator, writing to the Moravian Mission Board, promised that if the Moravians would find the men the Presbyterians would find the bulk of the money. To this arrangement the Mission Board agreed; two men, James Ward and Nicholas Hey, were appointed; and landing at Melbourne, July, 1890, the two pioneers were greeted by old Hagenauer on the quay.

1890 But now the two pioneers had a painful surprise. For six months they were engaged in dealing with various forms of opposition. In spite of Hagenauer's success at Ramahyuck, there still existed among the laity a feeling that the Papus were hopeless. According to popular rumour they were cannibals; recently some of them had eaten two white men; and Hagenauer himself had boldly stated that, on the whole, the Papus of North Queensland were even more degraded than those of Victoria. In the towns they slouched in rags and tatters, begging, drinking, and smoking; in their own homes they practised communism, not only in matters of property, but also in marriage matters; and fights



George Philip & Son, Ltd.

between Papus and whites had long been a common occurrence. For these sanguinary fights, however, certain white traders were really responsible. With revolvers in their hands, traders had often pillaged Papu camps; in revenge the Papus had used their spears; and thus the Papus had obtained a reputation worse than they deserved. The result was deplorable. At nearly every town they visited Ward and Hey had a mixed reception. At Melbourne, it is true, Canon Chase encouraged them, and gave them a first-class pass on the railway; but on their journey northwards, they met with many discouragements. At Sydney only the children showed much interest, and at Brisbane, in North Queensland, they made the painful discovery that, while the Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, gave them a kindly welcome, most of the regular churchgoers regarded them as milksops. At that time the prevailing opinion in North Queensland was that if a minister came from the old country, he was almost certain to be a worthless character. If he was English, he was a fool; if he was Irish, he was a freak; and one minister, speaking to Ward, stated the case quite bluntly: "I tell you what it is, Mr. Ward," he said, "people in Queensland have so often been taken in with ministers from the old country, it's no wonder they are somewhat distrustful of newcomers of whom they know nothing. If you prove yourself a decent sort of fellow, you will gain support. If not, you won't. That's all." The Hon. Horace Tozer, Home Secretary for Public Works, gave Ward some more plain speech. He informed him that while the Queensland Government would, for a brief period, provide the natives with food, none of that food must be consumed by the missionaries; and Ward, wondering why such a warning was needed, had the wisdom to hold his

peace. The amount of pessimism in Queensland was enormous. The nearer the Brethren approached their destination, the more critical and scornful everybody seemed. At Townsville a candid host informed them that he had prepared to receive a couple of fossils; at Cooktown another, equally candid, said that he had expected idiots; and others warned them that the enterprise was hopeless. "You are fools," they said, "you don't know these blacks; they are treacherous and malicious; they are cannibals, and will probably kill and eat you; and, even if they don't, you needn't imagine that you'll make them Christians. The fact is, they are not fit to live, and ought to be killed off."

Meanwhile, however, there was a bright side to the picture. Amid these warnings and forebodings, the Hon. John Douglas, Governor Resident, A. Hardie, and S. Robinson had discovered a site for the first Mission Station, named Mapoon, near the mouth of the Batavia River; soon afterwards Ward, Mrs. Ward, and Hey arrived at Thursday Island; and there, in his own home, the Hon. John Douglas expounded his plan of campaign. For the voyage to Mapoon, he said, he had two vessels ready. In the first, the *Albatross*, Ward and Hey, guarded by troopers, would sail; in the second, the *Dickie*, four carpenters would bring the building materials; and, Mrs. Ward being somewhat ill, the arrangement was that while Hey stayed at Mapoon to build the house, Ward, after inspecting the site, should return to Thursday Island to fetch his wife. In vain both Ward and Hey protested against the presence of troopers. The Governor was adamant; the Brethren yielded the point; and many friends applauded their decision. "You can never trust these rascals,"

they said. "You had better look out. If needful, shoot them. Above all, never let a black get behind you."

The foregoing arrangements were soon carried into effect. As soon as the *Albatross* reached her destination, the Captain, Brethren, and troopers stepped ashore; on the beach stood a great crowd of Papus; and the Captain, addressing a man named Bos'n, who had kept his two front upper teeth, opened negotiations. **Nov. 26th, 1890**

"Where do you belong?" said the Captain.

"Me belong here," said Bos'n.

"But why have you kept your front teeth?"

"He no like it," said another Papu, "and dat no use."

To James Ward this last speech was a star of hope. If a Papu could think for himself, he might be induced to listen to the Gospel. For two and a half hours the visitors inspected the site; three days later Ward, on the *Albatross*, returned to Thursday Island; and now with the Captain and the four carpenters, Nicholas Hey was left among the wild Papus. For three weeks he was busy as architect and builder; and, during those three weeks, he won the hearts of the natives. With his strong right arm, he felled the trees; with his own hands he cooked his own meals; and, boldly leaving his rifle behind, he visited the native camp. On the natives his conduct acted like magic. For the first time in their experience they beheld a white man without a weapon in his hand; kind words, instead of curses, now delighted their ears; and Hey, to their amazement, dressed a boy's wounded foot, clad an orphan in trousers, and gave presents to the children. Forthwith the Papus showed signs of gratitude. Each morning they gathered round him to hear him read the Texts; some, with officious

zeal, picked insects off his skin; and others, in return for meal and tobacco, helped him to build the Mission-house.

Meanwhile, his personal sufferings were intense. For ten days he lived on nothing but damper.† For ten nights he had not a second of sleep, and one day he made the dreadful discovery that his drinking-water came from the bathing-pool. At night his mind was torn between faith and fear. On the bed beside him in the hut lay Ford, the policeman; between the two men lay two loaded rifles; and Hey, peering through a crevice, could see the natives dancing round their camp-fire. Among those natives were some who had eaten whites, and Hey wondered how soon his own turn would come.

At the end of three weeks, however, Hey had the Mission-house nearly ready; on December 20th, Mr. and Mrs. Ward arrived on the scene; and Mrs. Ward, writing to a friend in England, recorded her first impressions of the natives. "I wish," she said, "you could see the people as I saw them on the day of my arrival. There were about eighty women and girls sitting in a semi-circle; most of them quite without clothing; others with a piece of calico tied round their loins. Such a spectacle! Many of them full of sores, one old woman blind, one with cancer. My dear old friend, I cannot tell you how miserable I felt. I would have given anything to be in Europe again. I felt I had no love for these people, and I could never work among them."

2. THE FIRST YEAR. 1891.

1891 For about a year after their arrival at Mapoon, Ward and Hey were employed, partly in tilling the

†This was his own fault, it might be said. He refused to open the boxes. Why? Because, I presume he was over-scrupulous, and did not wish to use food designed partly for his colleagues. This, however, is only my conjecture.

soil, partly in studying the people, and partly in teaching law and order; and thereby they took the first steps towards turning a native camp into a Christian village.

(*a*) At first the agricultural prospects were not encouraging. For two and a half miles between river and sea there ran a flat sandy beach. At the north end was Cullen Point; at the south end there was a screen of mangroves; to the west lay a few sandy ridges; and the whole place seemed more suited for a golf-course than for a Mission-station. For their own special needs, however, the Brethren had been granted two acres of land; and these two acres they soon turned into a garden. They enclosed the land with a paling; they built a bridge over the water-course; they laid out garden-beds, bordered by paths; they planted bananas, potatoes, shrubs, limes, and cocoa-nut trees; they opened a dairy-farm; and they even tried, with varying success, to grow cabbages and pumpkins beneath the raised floor of the Mission-house. In all this work the natives were asked to assist, and the Brethren soon arranged a daily programme. At seven the missionaries breakfasted in the Mission-house; then a loud bell was rung; and every morning Ward or Hey conducted family prayers in the open air. For the next two and a half hours, *i.e.*, 7.30 a.m. to 10 a.m., the men, under Hey as foreman, were engaged in useful labour; Ward taught boys on the verandah steps; and Mrs. Ward taught the girls to sew, and cooked both for the Brethren and for the workmen. At ten the men had dinner; in the afternoon they resumed their labours; and at half-past five, after tea, they were paid and returned to the camp. If ever men were kindly treated, it was surely those Papu labourers at Mapoon. They worked five hours a day; they received not only their pay, but two good

meals; they all enjoyed a quiet smoke after dinner; and they had their evenings to themselves. In spite, however, of the Brethren's kindness, most of the men were both ungrateful and deceitful. The milkman watered the milk; the labourers grumbled, and asked for three meals a day; and all, young and old alike, were constantly cheating each other. Sometimes the Brethren distributed fish, and then the amount of cheating was enormous. With an innocent smile upon his face, a native snatched up a fish with his foot and hid it behind his back; another deftly buried his fish in the sand; and a third sat on his fish and asked for more. In addition to these troubles, the Brethren suffered much from tropical pests. On one occasion a snake devoured ten chickens; ticks attacked the cows; dingoes ravaged the hen-roost; and the bull perished untimely. At this last disaster James Ward humbly contrasted himself with the prophet Habakkuk. "Though there shall be no herd in the stalls," said the prophet (Hab. III., 17, 18), "yet I will rejoice in the Lord." To such heights Ward did not claim to rise. "I could not," he confessed, "joy on that occasion."

(*b*) In medical matters the Brethren could do very little. They used a few simple remedies, dressed wounds, tried to teach common-sense, and studied some of the native superstitions. One evening James Ward watched the people dealing with a man who had fallen from a tree. The man's mother tied a rope round his body and worked the loose end to and fro in her mouth.

"What is she doing that for?" asked Ward.

"She is sucking the blood out of his body," said the man's relatives, "in a few minutes it will run along the rope."

"Impossible," retorted Ward, "no blood can come unless you make a wound."

"You are wrong," said the man's brother. "Just you watch. She will soon spit blood."

"Yes," said Ward, "but that will be her own blood." The result can be imagined. Next morning the triumphant natives showed Ward a pool of blood on the ground; the patient, however, showed no signs of improvement; and the experts explained the failure by saying that his spirit was roaming the woods.

(*c*) *Law and Order.* Let one example suffice. For sheer mystery and complication James Ward had never read anything to compare with a curious incident which occurred at Mapoon; the characters in the story were six in number; and these six—four men, Cook, Pumpkin, Dungeon, and Charlie Manners, and two women, Cook's sister and Pumpkin's sister—behaved in a manner which, while it threw some light on native customs, drove Ward to the verge of distraction. First, without Ward's knowledge, Dungeon married Miss Pumpkin; then, also without Ward's knowledge, Manners married Miss Cook; then Mrs. Dungeon fell in love with Cook; and then Dungeon, in a fit of jealousy, stabbed Cook in the back. The situation soon led to strange complications. One morning, on the verandah steps, James Ward beheld a marvellous scene. There, before him, stood the wounded Cook; there stood Mrs. Dungeon, clinging to her new lover; there also stood Dungeon, trying to pull his wife off; and there, behind, stood a crowd of Papus appealing to Ward to settle the dispute. To Ward, of course, the case seemed simple enough. For anything he knew to the contrary Mrs. Dungeon was still single; Cook and she seemed devoted to each other; and acting on this assumption, he ordered Dungeon to let the two go in peace.

"Are you willing," said he to Pumpkin, "to give your sister to Cook?"

"Yes," said Pumpkin.

"Will the law allow you to give your sister to Cook?"

"Yes," said Pumpkin.

At this interesting point, however, just when Ward thought the matter was amicably settled, two other men stepped forward and shouted, "Cook pay! Cook pay!" dragged Pumpkin over to Cook's sister, and then brought both Pumpkin and the girl to Ward. For the first time Ward was genuinely puzzled.

"What has this fresh girl to do with the business?" he asked.

"She Cook's sister," they shouted. "Cook pay Pumpkin, for sister belong to him."

For a moment Ward imagined he had found the solution. Each of the lovers, Cook and Pumpkin, had a sister; each wanted a wife; and the obvious idea was that if Cook would give his sister to Pumpkin, Pumpkin in return would give his sister to Cook. At this point, however, Ward made a baffling discovery; each of the girls, he found, was married already; and, therefore, he now declared that neither girl could marry her new lover. Each must remain true to her husband, and there the matter must end.

"How can the girls be sold?" he asked, "they both belong already to some one else."

"But that doesn't matter," retorted the Papus.

"Well," said Ward, "me no savvy your law. Me glad when you savvy Jesus Christ, then you no do such things."

The dispute had a strange conclusion. According to Papu law a man could sell his sister in marriage even if she was married already, and that was how this problem was solved. Each of the husbands had to part from his wife; each new lover married

the other's sister; and each couple, to escape reprisals, went off on a long honeymoon.

(*d*) *The First Gospel Lessons.* As teachers of children need to know child psychology, so preachers to the heathen need to know heathen psychology; and, acting on this scientific principle, both Ward and Hey adapted their methods to the ideas of the natives. According to the Papus of North Queensland, the chief seat of intelligence was the ear. Clever men they called ear-good; stupid men they called ear-bad, and, therefore, to the ear the missionaries made their first appeal. Instead of teaching systematic doctrine, they took certain simple sentences, such as, "Jesus loves me"; repeated each sentence hundreds of times; and, using Sankey's "Sacred Songs and Solos," sang the most popular hymns again and again.

The second way to the soul, said the natives, was the eye. By means of pictures, therefore, the missionaries taught the Papus the story of Christ. In one book they had pictures of the Crucified and Risen Christ; in another there was a good heart and a bad heart; and the natives were told that Christ had come to take the bad heart away and put the good one in its place. For some months the Brethren had little idea how far this teaching was understood. Did the natives know what was meant by the terms "good" and "bad"? Both the good and the bad, they said, vanished, after death, among the bushes; and one common idea seems to have been that while the men were immortal and had their souls carried away by angels disguised as blackbirds, the women, being inferior creatures, lived and died like dogs. But what the natives meant by "good" and "bad" was not yet quite clear. On the lives of the people generally the Gospel had, as yet, but little effect. Night after

night the camp was still a cock-pit; night after night Ward and Hey rushed among the flying spears; and Mrs. Ward, alone in the Mission-house, trembled for the result. No one, she said, would wilfully hurt the missionaries; the real danger was death by accident; and that danger was hardly ever absent. In the schoolroom itself, however, shone faint gleams of hope. Good scholars earned a few rewards; on Sundays, after the Church was opened, the people listened quietly; and one boy delighted the Brethren by calling Mrs. Ward "Mother." At the close, therefore, of 1891, the missionaries had made some definite progress. They had taught some of the men to be industrious; they had won the esteem of all by tending the sick; they had learned the natives' ideas on marriage; and, in a few cases, they had taught the young to think about Christ.

3. The Fight with the Traders, 1893-4.

For many years the west coast of North Queensland had been the scene of a flourishing pearl industry; on the pearl-luggers many Papus were employed; and the controversy between the Brethren and the traders arose, not because the Brethren objected to the trade, which came later under Government supervision, but because many of the captains, by their wicked personal example, ruined the morals of the natives. On the economic side the trade conditions were excellent. No Papu was enlisted against his will. Each recruit had his name enrolled in the Government books on Thursday Island; on the luggers the food was good, and the pay 10s. a month; no Papu could be enlisted for more than six months at a time; and in many cases he returned to the camp arrayed in a new suit of clothes. On the moral side, however, conditions were bad. According to the evidence of James Ward,

who was incapable of telling a falsehood, most of the captains of the pearl-luggers were men of low moral character. With a few exceptions, they openly scoffed at religion; some kept drinking saloons and gambling dens; and some, on their regular visits to Mapoon, seduced the women and encouraged them to sell their bodies for tobacco. The result was disgraceful. At the time when Ward and Hey arrived, Mapoon had already become a Sodom of iniquity. Each time captains called for recruits, scenes of debauchery were witnessed. To Ward and Hey only one course was left open. For the sake of the people's morals, they endeavoured, as far as possible, to find them better employment in the village; some of the captains regarded this as an act of open hostility; and forthwith they resolved on vengeance. On the Jardine and Ducie Rivers certain Papus had recently committed murder; in each case, said certain captains, Ward and Hey had inspired the crime; and those captains even appeared at Thursday Island and gave official information to that effect. The story soon appeared in some of the papers. For some party political reason the Editor of the *Torres Straits Pilot* was opposed to the Hon. John Douglas; now he openly criticised him for supporting the Mission; and, further, he even made the outrageous assertion that Ward and Hey were personally responsible, not only for the recent murders, but for all the murders committed by Papus during the last two years. For some weeks Ward and Hey were in bad odour. Instead of teaching the Papus to be law abiding, they, it was said in some papers, had incited them to rebellion; and some of the clergy, believing this absurd tale, denounced the innocent Brethren from their pulpits. But Ward and Hey soon proved their innocence. At Hey's request, the Hon. John

Douglas held an official inquiry; the captains' accusations were proved to be false; and the Editor of the *Torres Straits Pilot* made atonement for his transgressions by describing the Brethren as model missionaries.

Jan. 19th, 1894

But the Brethren soon gained far more than a formal victory. At the very time when the general public were discussing the conduct and character of the missionaries, the *Kanahooka*, a small steamer, foundered in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Among the survivors were two English officers, Priestley and Bradley.† With the aid of some Papus from Mapoon, Priestley and one of his friends made their way to the Mission Station. There the missionaries dressed their wounds and gave them high tea; the station boat was sent to fetch the other survivors; and Bradley, filled with gratitude, exclaimed, "This is the happiest day of my life. Come, boys, let us have a word of prayer." During the next few weeks, Priestley and Bradley, wherever they went, sang the Brethren's praises; public opinion turned in their favour; and now, taking the tide at the flood, James Ward set off on a tour to collect money for a second station. At Brisbane he interviewed the Mission Committee; at Melbourne he addressed the Ormond College Missionary Society; and at Adelaide he addressed the first meeting of the South Australian Women's Missionary Association. His mode of appealing for money was frank and abrupt. "If you love me," he said, "down with the money." By this time he had become a popular man; everywhere the people received him with favour; and, hoping that soon a new station would be built, he returned to Mapoon. For the projected second station there was now more pressing need than ever. At Mapoon affairs

†For details of the survivors' adventures, see Bishop Arthur Ward's "Miracle of Mapoon."

had come to a crisis. Sea captains constantly came to the camp; Papu men sold their wives for tobacco; and both Ward and Hey perceived that, unless the natives could be removed from temptation, all attempts to uplift them would be useless. In spite of his apparent failure to gain converts, James Ward was still optimistic; somehow, he declared, all things would work together for good; and sitting down at his harmonium, he drew comfort from the lines:—

Oh! Rest in the Lord and wait, Brother,
Though clouds obscure thy way;
All things for good are working together,
Oh! Rest and wait and pray.

4. THE VALLEY OF DEATH.

(December 15th, 1894—January 3rd, 1895.)

As James Ward was returning to Mapoon from a voyage up the Batavia River—undertaken for the purpose of finding a suitable site for the new station—he was so overcome by fatigue and thirst that, forgetting his usual caution, he ventured to drink some water from a brook; nine days later, *i.e.*, on Christmas Eve, he showed symptoms of fever, and on Christmas Day he was so ill that Hey suggested that the usual Christmas festivities should be postponed. But to this course James Ward objected.

"I cannot bear to see the children disappointed," he said, "and it may be a long while before I am better."

Once more, therefore, as in previous years, the little church was adorned with red and blue lights; once more the Christmas Tree was loaded; once more the Papus received their Christmas presents. For another week James Ward lay very quiet; Hey said

that he looked like one transfigured; and though one day he asked for his cheque-book, and said that he must pay all outstanding accounts, yet, at other times, he seemed to hope that he had still a great work to do on earth. At prayers, each evening, he chose the hymn himself. One evening, remembering the season, he selected "Who is He in yonder stall?"; a little later he asked for "Art thou weary?"; and then, still later, he asked for "Peace, perfect peace." One day, so he told the others, he had heard the angels in heaven sing. "Weep not for me," he said to his wife, "it hurts me. If I am taken, the Lord will be your husband."

On New Year's Eve James Ward was in a high fever; Mrs. Ward had broken down and could no longer be with her husband; and Hey, sitting by his dying friend's bedside, and realizing, to some extent, how intensely he suffered in body and soul, tried to soothe him with words of comfort. With a cry of agony, James Ward rose from his bed. "My God! my God!" he cried, "I'm in hell." For several hours that dreadful night, James Ward wrestled with God in prayer; in the morning he seemed calmer, and Hey read him a short passage out of the "Life of David Livingstone"; and Ward himself, with due reverence, described his terrible experience as his Gethsemane. "And yet," he added, "it was nothing compared with what Christ suffered for me."

The last hours of James Ward were now at hand. On New Year's Day he lay unconscious; on the following evening he asked permission to say good-bye to the Papus; and, addressing the women, he preached a beautiful sermon on the Good Shepherd. "Do you remember that picture in the Church," he said, "of the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb in His arms? That is how I feel now. I am tired and

weak as a child. I have asked the Good Shepherd to take me, and now He will lift me in His arms and carry me home."

In spite, however, of his trust in God, James Ward had still a great load on his mind. With God's dealing with him he was more than satisfied; with his own work for God he was profoundly dissatisfied; and now he bitterly reproached himself because he had not lived in the Papu camp. "I ought not," he said, "to have lived in the Mission-house at all. I ought to have lived in the camp among the Papus." For that sin of neglect, he said, he must now make full atonement.

"Let me go," he cried, "once more to the camp."

With those words James Ward rose from his bed; Hey, assisted by six Papus, could scarcely hold him down; and the struggle lasted till the morning dawned. As soon as Ward was quiet again, Hey dismissed the Papus; Mrs. Hey and Mrs. Ward now entered the room; and Ward, after greeting his wife with a smile and saying a bright "Good morning," noticed that the Papus had disappeared. To him the natives had always been children, and children they were to the end. **Jan. 3rd, 1895**

"The piccaninnies are gone," he said, "I must follow."

Thus, thinking of his spiritual children, James Ward passed away.

For six months the work at Mapoon remained at a standstill. Both Mrs. Ward and the Heys were now dangerously ill; all three had to leave for a needed rest; and what the future might have in store Hey was unable to say. "But, one thing," he bravely remarked, "is clear; whether we live or die we are in God's hands."

5. THE RESURRECTION, 1895—1914.

June, 1895 As soon as Mr. and Mrs. Hey had completely recovered their health, they returned to Mapoon; three months later Mrs. Ward also arrived; and so delighted were the Papus to see her, that, donning their best clothes, they waded out to the ship, greeted her joyfully as "Mother," and carried her ashore in a chair.† Let us now make a careful study of Hey's missionary methods. He was one of the greatest missionaries of modern times. First we note his relations with the Government; secondly, his social and religious work at Mapoon; and thirdly, his attempt to extend the Mission.

1. In order to protect the natives from temptation, Hey now made the bold and wise suggestion that the district between Mapoon and Duyfhen Point should be marked off as a Native Reserve. To this suggestion the Government agreed; Hey himself had certain official powers; and two years later, aided by Sir Horace Tozer, the Premier, he succeeded in having a law passed whereby the enlistment of natives on the pearl-luggers was prohibited. By means of these two strokes Hey became master of the situation. No one but missionaries and Papus might now live on the Reserve; and no sea-captains could any longer corrupt the morals of the natives. At the same time the Government also took measures to make sure that Hey did his work properly. For this purpose Dr. Roth, the new "Protector of the Aborigines" for North Queensland, visited the station once a year; and, speaking in the name of the Government, he promised that he would befriend the Mission on condition that each year he saw some improvement in the premises. The new arrangement

†Mrs. Hey and Mrs. Ward are sisters; daughters of an Irish farmer at Derryarnish, in Co. Antrim.

became a brilliant success. From the very outset, Hey had the Bible taught in the day-school; year after year Dr. Roth could send in a good report; and Hey now felt that, in all his labours, he had the full support of the Government.

(2) As soon as he had sufficient money in hand, Hey, assisted by the Papus, built a beautiful "Ward Memorial Church"; that Church became the centre, not only of the religious, but also of the social, life of the village; and Hey, acting both as magistrate and preacher, issued a number of rules and regulations. For some offences the people had to pay a small fine; for others he made them chop wood; and for serious crimes, such as theft on the luggers, they had to report themselves at Thursday Island.† His mode of attacking bad customs showed great common sense. "It is useless," he said, "abolishing a bad custom, unless you put a good one in its place." In order, for example, to abolish the custom of leaving dead bodies out to dry, Hey conducted a funeral service himself; little girls, carrying flags, took part in the procession; and all the rest were so anxious to share the honour that henceforward they buried their dead in a more sanitary manner. By a stroke of genius he also abolished polygamy. One Sunday, Jimmy, a married convert, announced that he would take a second wife. At the Sunday morning service, Jimmy himself was present; Hey, instead of preaching a sermon, informed the people of the scandal, and asked them to pray the devil out of Mapoon; and so earnest were the prayers that Jimmy remained a faithful husband. 1896-7

Again, Hey was a great organizer of labour. In spite of the people's communistic theories, he soon taught them the value of private property; and yet

†The enlistment of natives on the luggers was not abolished till 1910.

he did not make the mistake of condemning their ideas altogether. His system may be described as a compromise. He began with the pearl industry. Each native employed on a lugger received, as before, a fixed sum per month. But now Hey introduced a remarkable change. Formerly, the native received his whole wage direct; now one half was paid to the station, and was spent in providing goods for a General Store; and the native, having helped to provide that store, was entitled to the free use of the goods. By means of this system, therefore, he was partly a communist and partly an owner of private property. The same principle was applied to the village industries. Each native helped to build the houses; each native helped to sweep the roads; and each native, therefore, had the free use of certain articles belonging to the village as such. With the station circular saw he sawed his wood; from the station carpenter's shop he borrowed his tools; in the station windmill he ground his corn; and from the station grocery store he obtained good food. And yet he was not a communist pure and simple. Each native had his own house and garden; each native, also, had his own furniture; and that house, garden, and furniture he had to keep in good order. The whole system taught the Papu two cardinal virtues. On the one hand he learned the value of co-operation for the common good; on the other hand he had a sense of personal responsibility; and thus he became an admirable Christian citizen.

Again, in governmental matters, Hey adopted a compromise. His system may be called a limited monarchy. For ten years, 1895-1905, there was an understanding at Mapoon that while Hey himself was obeyed without question, the adults belonged to a village council, which, though it could not make laws, could at least make suggestions

and discuss any questions of public interest; and then, at the close of this period, Hey, at the people's request, allowed them to choose their own leader. But even then he insisted on stern conditions. At a public meeting held to discuss the people's suggestion, Hey laid down the law that no one was fit to rule at Mapoon unless he possessed the moral qualities required by St. Paul in a Bishop. The Papus agreed; the man described in I. Timothy III., 2, 3, was discovered; and henceforward the Papus possessed their own elected ruler.

But the best part of the story still remains. According to Nicholas Hey himself the real "kernel of Mapoon" was the day-school; that school, for many years, was under the efficient management of Mrs. Ward; and all Hey's most promising converts passed through Mrs. Ward's hands. In order to have the children under perfect control, Mrs. Ward housed them in three small boarding-houses; she herself gave Bible-lessons and taught the usual elementary subjects; and finally, at the request of the Government, she took charge of a number of orphans.

3. In due time Hey saw the Mission extend. Two more Moravian missionaries, Brown and Richter, arrived; two new stations, Weipa (1898) on the Embley River, and Aurukun (1904), on the Archer River, were founded; and the Native Reserve was now becoming a civilised Christian country. Near Mapoon the men were small-holders and some held office in the Church; at Aurukun there was a Boys' Brigade; the children astounded the inspectors by their progress; and so famous did the Mission become that, year by year, important officials—Governors, Bishops, Lords and Presbyterian Divines—came to behold the miracle. Among these visitors the most distinguished were Lord Lamington, Sir Wm. McGregor, the Governor, Canon Garland, the Chief

Protector, Appel, the Home Secretary, Parry Okeden, the Government photographer, and the Editor of the *Torres Straits Pilot*; and once, in 1911, there was even a lady reporter from the *Daily Mail.*

For three reasons the work in North Queensland possesses special interest:—Because, as was mentioned in the report of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, it is a most encouraging example of co-operation between two churches; because it shows that, when the right methods are used, the lowest races are not beyond redemption; and because it shows that, in the Moravian Church, the old missionary spirit is still alive. At Mapoon itself the visitor may still behold memorials of James Ward. He will worship in a new and larger "Ward Memorial Church"; he will see Ward's grave, marked by a cross; he will sail in the *J. G. Ward* along the coast; and children, taught by Mrs. Ward, will sing him a hymn of welcome.†

† For the changes made since this chapter was written, see Epilogue.

Chapter IX.

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA: NYASSA, 1891—1914.

1. Mackay's Request.

Among the great missionary leaders of the nineteenth century, no one admired Moravian Missions more than Mackay of Uganda; in 1888 he requested the Moravian Church to undertake a Mission in what was then known as German East Africa; and soon after this request was received, the Moravian Mission Board also heard, to its surprise and delight, that Daniel Krakau, a pious bachelor, had left the Moravian Church no less than £40,000. This legacy has since been known as the Krakau Trust; and the money was to be devoted to two distinct purposes. One half of the annual interest was for redeeming slaves; the other was for Moravian missionary work in general; and next year, 1889, at a General Synod, the Moravian Church decided to apply the second half of the legacy to entirely new work in German East Africa.†

Let us first try to form a clear idea of the precise field of labour selected. At the time when Mackay's request was received that part of East Central Africa now known as Tanganyika Territory, was already German Territory; one part of the colony, *i.e.*, the part lying just north of Lake Nyassa, was called

†We must here guard against a natural mistake. In his "Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyassaland," Bishop J. T. Hamilton says that the second half of the Krakau Trust was left "for founding and carrying on a Mission in German East Africa." But this is not correct. In the will no special field is mentioned.

"German Nyassaland";† and this was the part now selected for the new Mission. But the sphere of the mission had to be even more precisely defined. At this time the Berlin Missionary Society was already at work in German East Africa; with that Society the Moravian Church did not desire to compete; and, therefore, to prevent friction or over-lapping, the following terms were arranged:—

1. The two Societies, working side by side, will found stations north of Lake Nyassa.
2. For the present the boundary-line between the two shall be, roughly speaking, longitude 34. To the East shall be the Berlin Society, to the West the Moravians.
3. The two Societies, though independent, will try to help each other.*

In 1891 the campaign began. For twenty-three years the chief leader and superintendent of the work in German Nyassaland was Theodore Meyer, son of Henry Meyer, the pioneer in Hlubiland; one of his colleagues was a Swiss, Theophilus Richard; and these two, pushing north from Lake Nyassa, discovered, at the foot of Mt. Rungwe, a spur of the Livingstone Hills, a splendid site for the first station. The date was August 21st. The two men had never beheld a more gorgeous scene. On the north-west rose Mt. Rungwe; on the west lay a dense forest; on the south-east lay the teeming dales of Kondeland; and gazing southwards towards Lake Nyassa, across flat

†To distinguish it from "Nyassaland" proper, a British Protectorate just west of Lake Nyassa, Sir Harry H. Johnston called the district north of the lake "German Nyassaland." See his "Colonisation of Africa," p. 249.

*In 1911 a similar friendly arrangement was made between the Moravian Church and the Roman Catholic Mission conducted by the White Fathers. By this arrangement the Moravian Church agreed not to penetrate into certain districts lying further north-west and south of Lake Rungwe.

lowland country, the two men could hear the tinkle of cattle bells and see the smoke rising from hundreds of native huts. For reasons of health, Rungwe seemed an ideal site for a Mission-station. The land was high, the water pure, and the air clear and bracing. At the very outset, however, a distressing disaster occurred. One of Meyer's colleagues, George Martin, who had stayed near the lake, died of fever; there, by the shores of the great lake, his broken-hearted comrades laid him to rest; and then, aided by willing natives, they built the first houses at Rungwe.

They had come to an interesting people. According to the most recent authorities, all the natives of Nyassa were Bantus; by descent, therefore, they might be called one nation, and yet, like the Red Indians of North America, they were divided into several independent tribes. Each tribe was ruled by its own chief; each chief claimed a certain district as his own; and in each district certain distinguishing peculiarities, either in character, or in customs, or in language, were discovered. For the purpose of this narrative the five following districts must be noticed:

(1) Kondeland, between Mt. Rungwe and Lake Nyassa; a flat and fruitful country, teeming with cattle.

(2) Bundali, south-west of Mt. Rungwe, and due west of Kondeland. Here the land lies high, and the people are distinguished for their industry.

(3) Nyika, due west of Mt. Rungwe, and north-west of Bundali. In this region polygamy was a specially strong force.

(4) Usafwa, north-west of Mt. Rungwe; noted for its fierce chief, Merere, who, along with his bloodthirsty people, was speedily dispossessed by the Government.

(5) Mawanda, still further north, and north-west of Mt. Rungwe.

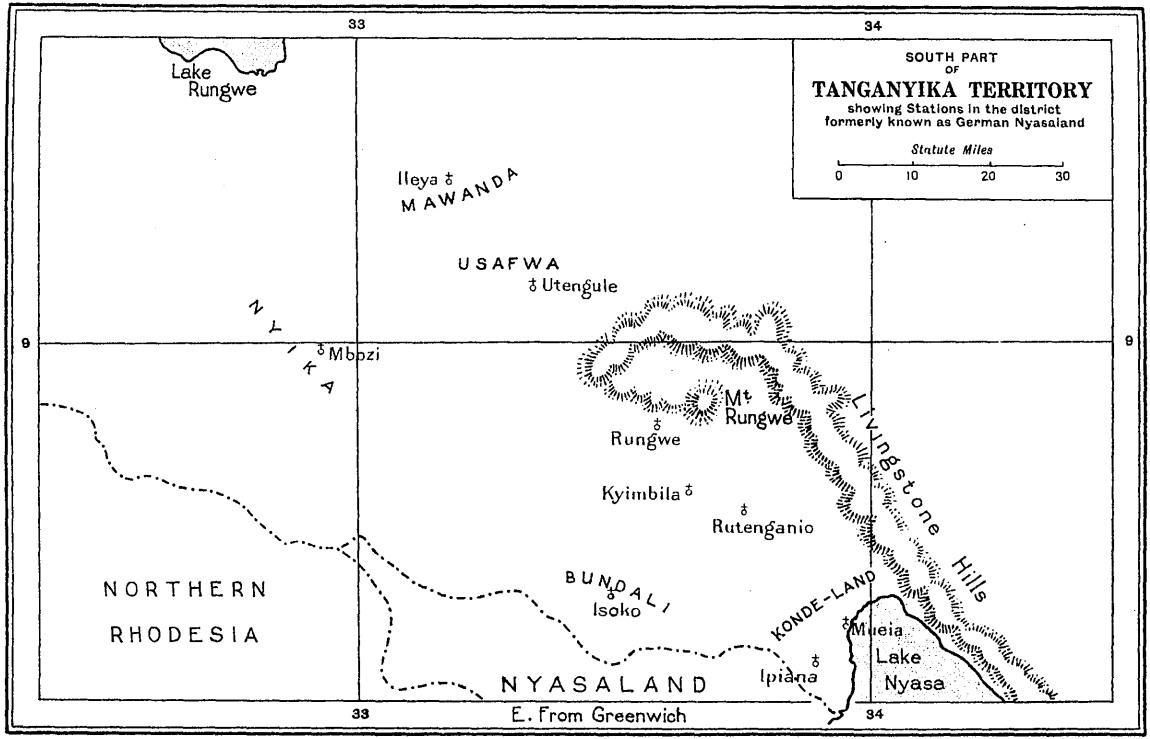
In each of these five districts the missionaries built stations, employed native evangelists, and opened day-schools; and the area covered by their labours was about seven hundred square miles.

In spite, however, of this division into tribes, all the inhabitants of Nyassa possessed certain characteristics in common.

(*a*) *Appearance.* According to Henry Drummond, who describes the people in his "Tropical Africa," they were the same colour as a good cigar; even the old men were said to be handsome; and the first Moravian missionaries observed that, though the people knew not the use of soap and water, they kept their bodies remarkably clean by means of butter or oil. They tilled the soil and bred cattle; lived on bananas and milk; smoked the pipe of peace in the evening cool; and greeted each other in the morning with the words: "I hope you slept well last night."

(*b*) *Politics.* At the head of each tribe was a powerful chief; at the head of each village was a captain; and the captains acted as Privy Council, with power to elect and depose the chief. Each captain also acted as a local magistrate, and offenders against the laws were tried by him. In cases when the evidence was doubtful, trial by ordeal was common. For this purpose a cup of Muafi was used. Taken neat, Muafi is a deadly poison; mixed with water, it is an emetic. The litigants faced each other; each, at a given signal, began to drink; and the one who vomited first had won the case.

(*c*) *Marriage Customs.* Among these people women had a high market value; most of them rendered good service by working hard in the fields;



George Philip & Son, Ltd.

and the usual business arrangement was that, after a young man had made his choice, he bought his bride from the girl's father. Among the poor the usual price was a cow; in higher circles it was so many cows and goats; and thus the more cows a man possessed the more wives he could buy. The farmer, therefore, was a dealer in women and cows. In order to obtain more cows, he sold his daughters; with his new stock of cows he bought more wives; and with his next batch of daughters he bought more cows. In these arrangements the chief flaw was that the daughter was often married when only a child. The custom led to much trouble. The wife found that she did not love her husband and left him; the deserted husband demanded his cattle back; and the quarrel between the two families sometimes lasted for generations. And yet the average husband was no mere brute. For his first wife he had deep respect, and called her the "Great Woman"; all his wives and daughters were kindly treated; and delicate children received special attention. "It is God who sent the child," the parents would say. And thus, despite the marriage-market, there was a certain amount of domestic happiness.

(*d*) *National Character.* Let us not regard these people as brutal savages. With all their faults, they did possess the milk of human kindness; and the first missionaries were much impressed by the fact. "It is beautiful," they said, "to note their generosity and hospitality. If a man has anything to eat in his house, he will never refuse a beggar; if you give a boy a banana he shares it with others; and if you pay a workman in salt, he gives so many pinches away that often he has little left for himself."

(*e*) *Religion.* For practical purposes the people's

religion may be called a mixture of religion and superstition. On the one hand they believed in a Supreme Creator, called in some districts Intambe, and in others Kiara; on the other hand they also believed in Mbosi, the devil; and the chief point to notice is that, while they had little to do with God, they were in constant touch with the devil. In theory, their conception of God was sublime. Above all the forces of nature, they said, there reigned an Invisible Spirit, who could not be represented by images; this great Spirit was perfectly good, caused the grass to grow and the fruit to ripen, and had shown His special favour to whites, not only by giving them clothes, but by endowing them with superior wisdom; and sometimes, in the droughty season, or when there was an epidemic, the chief led his people to a glade and begged the Creator to send a good harvest or stay the cruel plague. In spite, however, of this belief, the real religion of the people was a religion of terror. God, they said, though kind and powerful, did not really act much in this world; Mbosi was both malicious and busy; and, hating all mankind with a deadly hatred, he stole their property, sent diseases, blasted their crops, and endowed his servants with satanic powers. Mbosi ruled over thousands of spirits; these spirits or devils dwelt in men; and such men, by infernal means, could kill their neighbours. The usual result followed. With such devil-possessed men only the sorcerers could deal. At death the sorcerers generally dissected the body; thereby, they claimed, they could discover the murderer; and that murderer, they said, must now be put to death by the relatives. Amid these constant terrors, however, there was one consolation. For all men, good and bad, said the people, there was a life after death; in the better land goodness would ultimately triumph; and

while the wicked would have to serve the devil, the righteous, seated on chairs, would drink beer in abundance, bask in the heat of the day, and talk at night with God Himself.

2. THE MOTHER CHURCH AT RUNGWE.

As Rungwe not only possessed a beautiful climate, but also occupied a good central position, the Brethren decided to make it their headquarters. There, assisted by the natives, they built a village; there they often met each other in conference; and there they obtained their first knowledge of the strange manners of the natives.

(*a*) *The Wonderful Welcome.* The first experience was encouraging. Instead of regarding the Brethren as intruders, the natives, at the very outset, welcomed them as messengers of God; some of the people credited them with miraculous powers, and said that their trousers had been sent down from heaven; and the Brethren, in a few months, discovered the reason. For over thirty years, said the people, men like the missionaries had been expected; God Himself had predicted that preachers would come; and that prediction had taken the form of a strange light in the sky. For two months, said the people, the sky had been a vast sea of fire; on the shores they could see their ancesters walking in glory; and Murkkikandi, a holy prophet, had expounded the heavenly vision. "My children," he said, "that is a sign from God. Some day, when I am gone, good men will come here and tell you of the heavenly land. Among us things are not right. Our chiefs deceive us; our villages are wicked; and these men, whom none of us have seen, will tell us of the Lord in heaven." At a later period a priest added further details. In reality, he declared, the preachers would be men raised from the dead; and yet they would **1891-2**

appear in the form of white men from the south. "They will cross Lake Nyassa in wooden boats," he said; "they will have white hands and feet; they will be dressed in white; and they will also bring you presents of cotton, brass, and wine." Let us not dismiss this story as a mere legend. It shows that in the minds of some there was a desire for a higher life. At the very first public service—held at Christmas, 1892—the missionaries made a profound impression. First they told the story of Christmas and sang a few Christmas carols; then Meyer gave each person a portion of salt; and the happy people exclaimed: "Ah! the white man is not like Merere."

(*b*) *The Story of Merere.*† The next episode enhanced the Brethren's reputation. At the time when they arrived in Nyassa there lived at Utengule, in Usafwa, a few miles north-west of Rungwe, a wicked and powerful chief named Merere; this man, said the natives, had 10,000 breech-loaders, and claiming to rule over Kondeland, he raided the country, burnt the villages, stole property, and kidnapping young women and girls, sold them as
1895 slaves to the Arabs. For the sake of their flock, therefore, Meyer and Richard, guided by a native, went to Utengule, and there they saw the blood-thirsty chief, sitting on another man's legs, surrounded by his councillors, and wearing a bright shawl over his shoulders and many pearls on his arms. For two hours Merere stormed and blustered, contending that he had a right to Kondeland; then Meyer politely suggested that if he caused any further trouble he might receive some unpleasant treatment from the Government; and Merere, seeing that he had met his match, promised to invade

†Accent on first syllable.

Kondeland no more. The final result of these negotiations was curious. With the fear of stern treatment before his eyes, Merere faithfully kept his promise; his son and successor, however, Merere the Younger, repeated some of his father's offences, and forbade the Brethren to preach in his territory; and the Government, finding him intractable, expelled both him and some of his subjects, and handed over the district to gentler folk. Thus did the Brethren deliver Kondeland from a reign of terror.

(c) *The School for Slaves.* The next experience was both useful and disappointing. At the special request of a Government official, the Brethren took charge of a number of natives, rescued by that official from an Arab slave dealer. The group consisted chiefly of women and children. For the one man in the company the Brethren found employment as a gardener; for the women, who were mostly widows, both husbands and houses; for the children, who were mostly orphans, suitable guardians; and then, to prevent any possible misunderstanding, Meyer read out the rules of the village. No one must ever use any indecent language; no one must steal, or lie, or work on Sunday; and all must attend morning and evening prayers. The result was amazing. For a year the scheme worked well, and Rungwe became a model farm colony. The women helped in building operations; the boys dug in the gardens, attended the day-school, confessed their sins to each other, and, saying their prayers every night, asked the Lord to make them pure and holy; and the girls, gathering loyally round Mrs. Meyer, learned from her how to sew, gathered posies for her on the hillside, called her affectionately "Donna," came each evening to say "Good-night," and listened demurely and devoutly to the Brethren's musical clock. And then came the heart-breaking revelation. **1894-5**

In appearance, these liberated slaves were saints; in reality, most of them were hypocrites. First the gardener ran away, taking not only his own wife, but two other women with him; then the Brethren discovered that the boys were addicted to secret
October, 1895 vices; and, soon after this discovery, nearly all the women and children decamped. The incident taught the Brethren a valuable lesson. They saw how cunning the heathen can sometimes be, how easily whites may be deceived, and how deeply national vices are seated.

(*d*) *The First Convert.* But the next experience, while equally useful, filled them with fresh hope. Among the inhabitants at Rungwe was a lame woman, named Fiabarema; this woman often declared that, if she were taken ill, she would not employ witchcraft, but trust entirely to Christ to heal her;
1897 and one Sunday (February 5th), after the sermon, she walked up to the desk and made a speech.

"I rise to say," she said, "that I am God's property. I belong to Jesus; God is my Father; and now I have done for ever with pride, lies, theft, and medicine swallowing."

For a native this was a very bold speech; her example was soon followed by others, and all these early converts took the same moral stand. Each saw, fully and clearly, that certain national customs were wicked; each promised to abandon those customs and take Christ as his teacher and model; and each, in any case of doubt, asked the missionary for advice. "You tell us what to do," they would say, "and we will do it. If we do wrong you must punish us."

1903 (*e*) *The Training Colleges.* The next experience was the most encouraging of all. In the lives of the first converts at Rungwe one of the most hopeful

features was the changed attitude towards education. At first the people had despised education, and refused to send their children to school unless they were paid for so doing; now there was a deep desire for instruction; and the converts were constantly asking the missionaries questions. One asked why God did not kill the devil; another wondered whether his illness was due to some secret sin; and many, being interested in the Second Coming, desired to know what, when Jesus came, would happen to those still on earth. But the topic that interested them most was ethics. As soon as these people became Christians, they developed a hunger for education; and education was valued by them, not because it gratified their curiosity, but because it enabled them to live good lives in the sight of God. "Let us learn to read," they said, "and then we shall all discover how to become like Jesus." For all classes of the community, therefore—candidates for baptism, candidates for communion, and communicant members—regular courses of instruction were now arranged; and all communicants now sent their children to the day-school. The result was even better than the missionaries expected. In 1903 they opened a Training College for Evangelists, in 1910 they opened a Normal School for Teachers; and thus Rungwe became the centre of widespread evangelistic and educational activity.

3. THE SPREADING CAUSE.

For twenty years the Brethren were engaged, not merely in building a model Christian village at Rungwe, but in attempting to christianize the whole surrounding neighbourhood; in this work they employed twenty missionaries, fifty-three native helpers, thirty-seven native evangelists, and twenty-seven volunteer assistants; and in each of the five

districts mentioned strong stations, surrounded by many preaching places, were founded.

In Kondeland, besides Rungwe, they founded Rutenganio† (1894), Ipiana (1894), Mueia (1907), and Kyimbila (1912); in Bundali, Isoko (1900); in Nyika, Mbozi (1900); in Usafwa, Utengule† (1895); and in Mawanda, Ileya (1906). In addition, however, to these head stations, the Brethren had also thirty-five out-stations and one thousand and eighty-one preaching places. The number of converts rose to 1,955; the number of schools was 144; and the number of scholars attending them, 4,949. But mere numbers give a poor idea of the real value of the work. Let us note some points of deeper human interest.

(*a*) *Trade and Industry.* At nearly all the head stations the missionaries made a systematic endeavour to teach the men to be good citizens; and, in some cases, they introduced entirely new forms of industry. At Rungwe there was a carpenters' shop and wood-working establishment; there sixteen large saws could be seen working at once; and the natives learned to manufacture beams, joists, boards, doors, cupboards and chairs, and other articles of domestic furniture. At Utengule there was a large boot factory. At Kyimbila there was a rubber plantation. Some of the missionaries introduced Muscat donkeys, said to be able, unlike horses, to resist the attacks of the tsetse fly; others planted rice in the lowlands and potatoes in the hilly districts; others introduced sheep and a new and hardier breed of cattle; others cultivated coffee and tea; and others, with varying success, introduced strawberries, gooseberries, plums, peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons, grapes, and other fruits previously

†Accent on second syllable.

unknown to the natives. On the natives all this had a great effect. Formerly they had lived from hand to mouth; now they were learning to be thrifty. Formerly the men had left most of the work to the women; now they discovered that hard work makes a man happy. Formerly the natives had few implements; now they became experts in the use of hoes, knives, and axes. At the head stations the Church as such generally owned a large tract of land; this land was let in allotments to the natives; and the natives preferred to live near a station, partly because they could prosper under good employers, and partly because they felt sure that their children would be well educated.

(*b*) *Some Deeper Problems.* At every place where the missionaries began new work, they made new discoveries about the manners and beliefs of the people; the variety in those customs and beliefs was bewildering; and gradually the missionaries came to see that no Church can understand the natives unless it makes systematic use of intelligent native assistants. Nor was this idea a novelty. It existed in the days of Zinzendorf. In the diary of the "Disciples' House" it is recorded that Zinzendorf desired to send Negro preachers from the West Indies to Surinam, and in one of his addresses he even suggested that West Indian Negro preachers might evangelize Africa. But now, in Nyassa, something on these lines had become a necessity. Only the native, said the missionaries, can really understand the native; only the native knows the reason lying behind a custom; and only the native, therefore, can say whether a particular custom is or is not consistent with the principles of the Christian religion. Let a few examples illustrate the point. At Rutenganio the people were

stupid and dull, thought the missionary a wizard, and refused to attend the Church unless they were paid. At Ipiana they were grossly immoral, talked and spat in Church, and yet informed the missionaries that they were sinless. At Utengule they trembled under the rule of a mighty sorcerer. At Isoko the people believed in a charm, an onion fixed on a stick, supposed to heal diseases and frighten burglars; and at Mbozi the native assistants informed the missionary that, in their opinion, the chief source of moral evil was polygamy. But evils like these were not the real difficulty. Among the natives some customs, such as polygamy and witchcraft, were clearly wicked and harmful; other customs, however, such as the heathen mode of burying the dead, might, though not wicked in themselves, have certain wicked associations; and, not knowing whether to forbid such customs or not, the missionaries decided at last to take the natives into their confidence. For this practical purpose, therefore, they now summoned a Native Conference (October, 1913). At this Conference, thirty-six delegates, elected by the communicant members, attended; thereby the first step was taken towards the formation of a more or less self-governing Native Church; and the questions discussed by the delegates were such as these: May a Christian allow his young child to be promised in marriage? May a Christian eat food that has been sacrificed to idols? What is a Christian to do if so many women have been left him by will? On all such questions as these the delegates had useful suggestions to make; and the idea of a Native Church seemed now within the bounds of possibility. At this interesting point, however, the Great War broke out; soon afterwards Nyassa became the scene of military operations; and the Mission, with all its bright possibilities,

was transferred, for the time being, to the United Free Church of Scotland.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

WORK AMONG THE LEPERS.

At Rungwe, Ipiana, Rutenganio, and Isoko, the Colonial Government opened Leper Homes, and in these homes the missionaries ministered to about 2,000 patients. From the spiritual point of view, however, the work was disappointing. In most cases, said the missionaries, suffering did not seem to teach patience. It rather hardened and debased the character.

At Rutenganio, *e.g.*, the lepers gave way to a dull fatalism. "If I die, I die," said one. "God hates me; God is killing me; what can I do?"

Chapter X.

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA: UNYAMWEZI, 1898—1914.

1. The Plan of Campaign.

Once more, as in the case of Nyassa, the invitation came from English missionary sources. For eighteen years the London Missionary Society (1879-97) had held an isolated outpost named Urambo, situated due south of Lake Victoria Nyanza; the whole district was known as Unyamwezi, and lay north of Nyassa; and there, although no converts had been gained, some good preliminary work had been accomplished. First came a medical missionary, Dr. Southon, who, however, early in his career, was accidentally shot; then followed Thomas F. Shaw, who laboured thirteen years; and during these years Shaw and his colleagues made Urambo, in one sense, a good centre for further missionary enterprise. They built a number of houses and a school; they translated St. Mark's Gospel into the Unyamwezi dialect; they published a small hymn-book; they healed the sick; and, though their preaching resulted in no conversions, they gathered a congregation of about four hundred natives, who came to the church, sang hymns, and listened, it is said, to part of the sermon. For two strategic reasons, however, the L.M.S. now asked the Moravian Church to take over Urambo. In the first place Urambo was a long distance from their other stations situated in British East Africa; in the second place it was not far from the Moravian stations in Nyassa, especially the more northerly ones in Nyika and Usafwa; and the general idea appears to have been that if the Moravians occupied

Unyamwezi, they might soon have one strong mission-field covering nearly the whole region between Lake Victoria Nyanza and Lake Nyassa. In spite, therefore, of limited means, the Moravian Church accepted the L.M.S.'s suggestion; the mission-station at Urambo was bought; and on January 2nd, 1898, the first two Moravian missionaries, accompanied by their wives, drew near the village.

The scene was one of pomp and circumstance. At that time the chief man in Urambo was a powerful 1898
chief named Kabagomato; this chief had a pleasant manner, knew how to use a knife and fork, and enjoyed his cigar after dinner; and now, arrayed in his finest robes, and followed by his subjects, he set out from the village to meet the new comers. The two missionaries rode on Muscat donkeys; behind them came their respective wives, clad in white and borne in hammocks by natives; and behind the two ladies came porters with luggage. To the natives that luggage was the chief attraction. As soon as the two processions met, the ceremony of introduction was performed. At the command of Kabagomato, the natives, waving reeds and flags, executed a war-dance; the women and girls crowded round the two hammocks; and all clamoured for the honour of shaking hands. In appearance, therefore, the chief and his people rejoiced to see the Brethren; in reality, they were most interested in the packing cases; and the secret thought in their minds was that, if they were kind to the Brethren, they would soon receive something good to eat. The real character of the chief was soon revealed. At first he fawned on the Brethren, and gave them a calf; then he was heard to utter mysterious threats; and, as he had already committed several murders, the Government intervened and put him in prison.

Meanwhile, the Brethren had begun the campaign.

For ten years the work in Unyamwezi was under the management of Rudolph Stern; this man adopted the plan of pushing the cause steadily southward, to join the older work in Nyassa; and thus, under his leadership, a row of stations, from north to south, was founded. First, in 1901, the Brethren founded Kitunda; then, a little to the south of Urambo, Sikonge (1902); then, still further south, Ipole (1903); then, still further south, Kipembabwe (1904). At this point, however, a slight change was made in the plan of campaign. For the purpose, apparently, of strengthening the line, the next station, Usoke (1907), was founded, not as we might have expected, still further south, but between Urambo and Sikonge. But this move had also another object. At that time the chief town in Unyamwezi was Tabora, a little to the south-east of Urambo; there the Mahometans were exceptionally strong; and thus, by having four stations fairly close together—Urambo, Usake, Sikonge, and Ipole—the Brethren hoped to hold their own against Mahometan influence. By means of this plan, therefore, the Moravians in Unyamwezi designed to accomplish two great purposes. First, they hoped to establish a connexion between Unyamwezi in the north of the colony and Nyassa in the south; and secondly, they hoped to form a strong barrier against the powerful Mahometan movement at Tabora. At all these stations the same kind of work—preaching, teaching, and healing the sick—was done. In 1910 Stern completed his translation of the New Testament; other books of a useful nature—Bible Stories, a Catechism, a School Primer, and a book of instructions for native evangelists—were issued; and on the average about a dozen missionaries were employed. And yet, on the whole, the results were disappointing. In 1906 the number of converts was

only fifteen; in 1910 it was only one hundred; and in 1913 it was only two hundred and forty-seven. Such figures raise an interesting question: How was it that in Unyamwezi progress was so much slower than in Nyassa?

2. THE CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE.

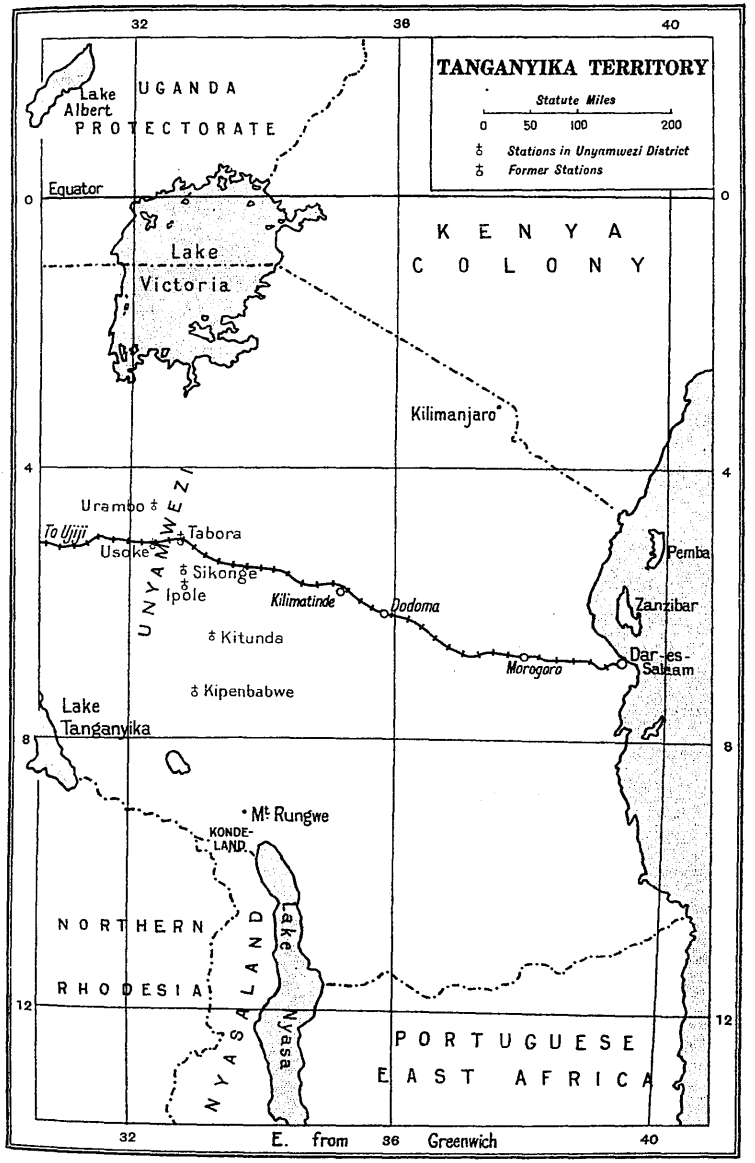
For the slow progress of the work in Unyamwezi, only one reason, in Stern's opinion, could be given; that reason was to be found, not in the superstitions of the people, but in what he called their "devilish deceit and indifference"; and the impression produced on his mind was that all the while the missionaries were fighting against an unseen foe. In Nyassa the opposition was mostly open; in Unyamwezi it was secret and cunning; and, therefore, to understand the situation, we must now look more closely at the character of the people.

(*a*) *Religion.* For us the interesting point to notice is that in some of their religious beliefs these Unyamwezi people resembled the Israelites. Like the Israelites they believed in one Supreme Creator and Sustainer of life; like the Israelites, they said that man, originally immortal, lost his immortality through the sin of a woman; and further, like the Israelites, they had their own story of the Tower of Babel. The story of the loss of immortality was remarkable. In the beginning, said the people, Sheda Mahinda, the Creator, after creating the world and all the animals, created two women; each of these women he married and loved; and, when the one he loved the more dearly died, he was inconsolable, buried her body in a hut, watched by her graveside, watered the grave daily, and forbade his surviving wife to enter the hut. In due time Sheda Mahinda's fidelity received a strange reward. There, on his dead wife's grave, sprang up and bloomed the Tree of

Life, and that tree was a sign that the men whom he created were immortal. At this point, however, his surviving wife intervened. In the hut, apparently, it was cold; one day Sheda Mahinda went to fetch some firewood; and his wife, seizing her opportunity, entered the hut, seized an axe, and chopped the Tree of Life to pieces. Thus did an inquisitive woman rob man of his immortality. The other story, however, bore a still closer resemblance to the scripture narrative. At first, said the Unyamwezi people, all men lived in one town and spoke one language; then certain ambitious schemers, desiring to obtain water from the sky, built a high tower; and lo! just at the last moment, just when the builders were laying the last stones, just when they had nearly reached the sky, a terrible hurricane began to blow. The tower fell, all the builders were killed, and the rest of the people, fleeing in terror, were scattered far and wide. Thus did man's impious ambition lead, as in the Bible narrative, to the confusion of tongues.† In spite, however, of the first woman's sin, men, though not immortal on earth, might be so in the next world. "We all hope," said a native to one of the missionaries, "to go to a beautiful place, where there is no work to do and plenty to eat." In these religious beliefs, it is clear, there was nothing (except, perhaps, the gross conception of heaven) exceptionally degrading.

(*b*) *Superstitions.* Nor were these any worse than those of other heathen. In common with many other Bantu tribes, the Wanyamwezi believed in sorcerers and rain makers, wore amulets to keep off diseases, and offered sacrifices to departed spirits. For the last purpose beer was generally used; only

†For a similar story, told by the natives of Mkulwe, another district in German East Africa, see Sir J. G. Frazer's "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament," Vol. I., p. 377.



George Philip & Son, Ltd

a little was offered to the departed ; and the sacrificial feast was made an excuse for a drunken orgy.

(*c*) *Materialism.* According both to Stern and his colleague, Medier, the chief obstacle to the spread of the Gospel was not the people's superstitions, but their materialistic conceptions of life. At Urambo, for example, most of the people were farmers, most of whom made money by selling their produce at Tabora, and now they deliberately told the missionary that, as long as they prospered in business, they saw no reason to change their religion. "If the Gospel brings more money," they said, "we will have it ; if not, we can do without it." The case of Kaswika, a chief, was fairly typical. One day, in the church, the missionaries prayed for rain ; next day rain fell ; and forthwith Kaswika became a regular worshipper. Nor was this materialism confined to the love of money ; both drink and sensuality were common ; and most of the people's conversation was on degrading topics. But what was the secret, malevolent force behind this materialism ? To that question the missionaries could, as yet, give no answer.

3. THE NEW MOVE, 1910-14.

At last affairs in Unyamwezi came to what may almost be called a crisis. At the very time when the patient Brethren were just beginning to see some signs of improvement, the Government began to construct a railway to connect Dar-es-Salam on the coast, with Ujiji on the western frontier ; all men working on the railway were offered good wages ; and, forthwith, most of the men at the stations found employment on the line. Such men were now exposed to two perils. On the one hand they were in danger of becoming fonder of money than ever ; on the other, they were brought into still closer touch with Mahometans; **1910**

and the Brethren, realising the issues at stake, now took three important measures. First, they sent a missionary to Tabora, to preach there to the Mahometans; then they opened a Training School for native teachers at Sikonge (October, 1913); and, thirdly, working in co-operation both with the Berlin Missionary Society and the C.M.S., they began—chiefly by providing teachers—to minister to the spiritual needs of all men, both Mahometans and heathen, employed on the railway line. And this was the hopeful situation when the Great War began.

BOOK IV.

METHODS, MEASURES, AND IDEALS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT . . .	463
2.	THE WORK OF THE SYNODS, 1760—1909.	473
3.	THE SYNOD OF 1914; OR, MORAVIAN MISSIONARY IDEALS	495

Chapter I.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

1. The General Synod.

In what way does the Moravian Church differ from other Evangelical Churches? In her attitude towards Foreign Missions. For one hundred and ninety years—ever since Leonard Dober set out for St. Thomas—the fundamental and distinguishing feature of the Moravian Church has been that Foreign Missions are the work, not of some society within the Church, such as the C.M.S. and the L.M.S., but of the Moravian Church as such; at one Synod (1857) this principle was explicitly and officially asserted;† and one consequence of this principle is that all Foreign Mission matters have been, and still are, under the authority and control, not of any Missionary Society, but of a General Synod representing, and appointed by, the whole Moravian Church. Let us then note how the General Synod was constituted, and how it dealt with Foreign Missions. Its members may be divided into three classes. First, there were so many *ex-officio* members, *i.e.*, all the members of the Mission Board, two from the Continental Provincial Board, one from the British, one from each of the American Provinces, two from the West Indies, two bishops from each of the four Home Provinces, and the Mission Secretary in England; secondly, twenty-seven delegates from the Home Provinces, *i.e.*, nine from

† Synodal Results, 1857, pp. 120-1.—"There never will be a Unity of the Brethren without a Mission to the Heathen, or a Mission of the Brethren which is not the affair of the whole Church as such. The Missions do not belong to themselves, nor yet to a Society, nor even to a portion of the Brethren's Church, but to the whole Brethren's Unity."

the Continental, nine from the British, seven from the American (North), and two from the American (South); and thirdly, six missionaries, four summoned by the Mission Board, and two elected by the West Indian Provinces. In the constitution of the General Synod one remarkable feature needs explanation. In spite of the fact that the Synod dealt with Missions, the number of missionaries present was extremely small. For nearly a century after Zinzendorf's death, *i.e.*, till 1857, the only missionaries attending a General Synod were such as the U.E.C. had summoned. In 1818 no missionaries were present; in 1825 three attended as advisory members; in 1836 three as voting members; in 1848 two as advisory members; and in 1857 three as voting members. Again, take the General Synod of 1899. In that year the number of voting members was fifty-four; only six were missionaries; and these six were entitled to vote, not because they had been elected, but because the U.E.C. had summoned them after receiving confidential votes. Such facts raise an interesting question: How was it that at these General Synods nine-tenths of the members were either *ex-officio* members, or elected representatives of the Home Provinces? Why were not more missionaries summoned? Why were the Mission Provinces not more adequately represented? For this apparent injustice, however, the following cogent reasons might be given:—

(1) The General Synod legislated on matters concerning the whole Church, such as doctrine and forms of worship; and with such questions the Mission Provinces were not yet competent to deal.

(2) The Home Provinces contributed money, not only for their own expenses, but also for the Mission Provinces. But the Mission

Provinces contributed only towards their own support. Therefore, the Home Provinces were entitled to far more voting power.

(3) The Home Provinces supplied and educated most of the missionaries.

(4) With a few exceptions, the native converts were not yet sufficiently advanced to undertake legislative functions.

(5) To summon many missionaries would have involved enormous expense.

(6) The few missionaries who did attend were generally men of exceptional wisdom and experience; and such information as they imparted was sufficient to enable the Synod to arrive at sound decisions.

By the Synod, therefore, all laws concerning Foreign Missions were passed; to the Synod the Mission Board presented its report; and by the Synod the Mission Board was elected.

At the General Synods such questions as these were discussed and settled :—

(*a*) Shall a request to undertake new work be accepted or declined ?

In 1848, *e.g.*, the General Synod decided to undertake new work in Nicaragua and Victoria; and in 1889 it sanctioned the proposed Missions in Nyassa and North Queensland. During inter-synodal periods, however, the Governing Board could authorise new enterprises. Thus, *e.g.*, the U.E.C., without waiting for a General Synod, undertook new work in Western Tibet, Demerara, and Alaska.

(*b*) Shall any field be abandoned or handed over to another Church ?

In 1899, *e.g.*, the transfer of Greenland was authorised by the Synod, and in 1909 the question was discussed

whether California and Unyamwezi should be handed over to other Societies.

(*c*) How much money from General Funds may be allocated to any particular Province ?

The most striking example is that of the West Indies. In 1899 the Synod devised the sliding scale described in the next chapter.

(*d*) To what extent, and on what conditions, shall a Mission Province be self-governing ?

Once more the best example is the West Indies. In the next chapter it will be explained how the two West Indian Provinces were granted a measure of independence.

(*e*) For what purpose may a legacy, which is not ear-marked, be most suitably used ?

In 1889, *e.g.*, the Synod decided to use part of the Krakau Trust to begin new work in German East Africa.

(*f*) How and where shall candidates for mission service be educated ? What qualities must the candidates possess ? What doctrines shall the missionaries preach ? What methods of pastoral work shall they adopt ? What provision shall be made for missionaries' pensions, widows, and the education of missionaries' children ?

Thus did the General Synods deal, not only with general principles and methods, but with almost every conceivable detail.

2. THE MISSION BOARD.

At the General Synod in 1899 a resolution was passed that, during an inter-synodal period, the Foreign Missions should be managed by the Mission Board, elected by the General Synod, and con-

sisting of five members, *i.e.*, one from each of the three Home Provinces, and two from the mission fields; and this Synod not only described the functions of the Board in general, but also defined them with elaborate detail.

(1) *General Functions* :—

(*a*) To administer the Foreign Missions in their entirety.

(*b*) To represent the Missions outside the Church, *i.e.*, in legal processes and in negotiating with other Churches.

(*c*) To manage all property used for Mission purposes.

(*d*) To provide both men and means for the work.

(2) *Special Functions.*—For the reader's convenience these may be classified thus :—

ADMINISTRATIVE.

For the whole work the Mission Board was held responsible; over the whole work, therefore, it must reign; and to this end it was both authorised and instructed :—

(*a*) To act as a Court of Appeal in all disputes. By two authorities only could its decisions be over-ruled, *i.e.*, by a General Synod, or by the Governing Board of the whole Moravian Church.

(*b*) To appoint a President and a Warden in every Mission Province, except the two West Indian Provinces.

(*c*) To veto, if need be, any resolution passed by a Mission Province Conference.

(*d*) To sanction, or the reverse, the election of its own Governing Board by any Mission Province Conference.

(*e*) To sanction, or forbid, any action contemplated by any such Provincial Mission Board.

(*f*) To sanction, or forbid, the proposed establishment of a new station.

(*g*) To keep in touch with all Moravian Auxiliary Missionary Societies, such as the S.F.G. in England, and the S.P.G. in North America.

(*h*) To examine, either orally or through the post, all candidates for mission service; and make sure that each candidate possessed the requisite physical, mental, and spiritual qualities.

(*i*) To sanction all ordinations. Without the permission of the Mission Board no Bishop could ordain any candidate.

(*j*) To call all missionaries to their posts, grant, or refuse, requests for furlough, and decide whether, on grounds of old-age or ill-health, any missionary was entitled to retire on pension.

(*k*) To see that each missionary visited the sick, undertook the cure of souls, and, generally, performed his duties, not only as preacher, but as pastor.

(*l*) To decide how far the rules on Church Discipline could be applied in any particular Mission Province. In some Mission Provinces these rules could be enforced much more strictly than in others, and the Mission Board was supposed to understand the varying local circumstances.

(*m*) To encourage, among the converts, such means of edification as family-prayers, prayer-meetings, Bible-study, and young

men's and young women's Christian Associations.

(*n*) To regulate the amount of instruction imparted to baptismal candidates. The amount varied in different mission fields. In Surinam, *e.g.*, the standard would be high; in North Queensland it would be much lower; and the Mission Board would vary the standard according to the intellectual status of the natives.

FINANCIAL.

(*a*) To act as the legal owner and representative of the central business establishment at Herrnhut.

(*b*) With the aid of a Finance Committee, appointed by the General Synod, to supervise the working of that establishment.

(*c*) To manage, directly or indirectly, all commercial firms or businesses existing on behalf of the Missions, and to appoint the leading officials therein. One example will suffice. The Mission Board appointed the manager of the firm of Kersten & Co. in Surinam.

(*d*) With the aid of the Finance Committee, to prepare and publish an annual budget, *i.e.*, a clear statement of the expected income and expenditure for the forthcoming year.

(*e*) To see that all the converts paid their church-dues, and to allocate those dues as follows:—90 per cent. for general Mission funds, and 10 per cent. for the province in which the money was raised.

(*f*) To regulate the salaries of missionaries and

their pensions, according to varying needs and circumstances.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

(*a*) To manage the Mission Publication Office at Herrnhut.

(*b*) To supervise the monthly Missionary Magazine, *Missions-Blatt.*

(*c*) To supervise the labours of any brother appointed as historian or pamphleteer.

(*d*) To arrange for the publication of missionary literature in the British and American Provinces.

(*e*) To appoint good speakers to preach and lecture, on behalf of Moravian Missions, in England and North America, not only to Moravians, but also to the general Christian public.

(*f*) To supervise, and, if possible, improve the instruction given at the Mission College.

(*g*) To arrange, where possible, for the establishment of Training Colleges for native teachers and preachers.

(*h*) To see that all missionaries took an interest in elementary education.

Thus did the Mission Board, like the General Synod, deal, not only with broad methods of work, but with almost every conceivable detail.

3. THE MISSION PROVINCES.

With the exception of the two West Indian Provinces, which were entitled, after 1899, to elect Synods, the general rule was that each Province had its own Conference, consisting of all missionaries who had been two years in the service, and this Conference could not only make laws, subject

to the approval of the Mission Board, but also, subject to the same approval, elect its own Governing Board, known as the Helpers' Conference. In each Province the President and Warden were appointed by the Mission Board. In theory the Mission Board could veto any resolution passed by a Conference; in practice, this power was probably not much exercised; and, after 1899, the general tendency was to give the Provincial Conferences as much liberty as possible. As the minutes of all conferential proceedings had to be sent to the Mission Board, nothing, in any case, could take place without its knowledge.

4. THE CONGREGATIONS.

By the nature of the case there was, and could be, no absolutely uniform system. Let us here note merely the arrangements made in the most thoroughly organized congregations.

(*a*) First, there was a measure of self-government. Each congregation was authorised to elect two bodies; one, which we may call a Committee, to look after temporalities; and the other, called the Board of Helpers, to care for the sick and watch over the spiritual life of the members. No member, *e.g.*, could be excluded without the sanction of the Board of Helpers.

(*b*) Secondly, there was a system of Church discipline. This took three forms:—

(1) Admonition or reproof.

(2) Temporary exclusion from the Lord's Supper.

(3) Temporary suspension of other rights, such as the right to vote at Church Meetings. In cases of persistent and

flagrant sin, the member's name might be struck off the register.

(*c*) Thirdly, in most congregations, the members were divided into five classes:—

(1) New people, *i.e.*, candidates for admission.

(2) Candidates for baptism, *i.e.*, those attending a Baptismal instruction class.

(3) Baptized children under 16 years of age, *i.e.*, children still awaiting Confirmation.

(4) Baptized adults, *i.e.*, all over 16 who have been baptized but not confirmed.

(5) Communicant members, *i.e.*, those who have been both baptized and confirmed.

(*d*) Fourthly, great stress was laid on the "Speaking"; this was a private interview between the missionary and the communicant member, or, in the case of female converts, between the convert and the missionary's wife; and without that interview no member might attend the Holy Communion.

Chapter II.

THE WORK OF THE SYNODS, 1760—1909.

In order to understand the nature of the work accomplished by the General Synods, we must divide the narrative into two periods. The first is the period 1760-1848; the second is the period 1848-1909. The key-word of the first period is "Consolidation," the key-word of the second is "Advance." For eighty-eight years (1760-1848) after the death of Zinzendorf, the Moravian Church, in its foreign mission work, was engaged almost exclusively in consolidating, organizing, and developing the work in the West Indies, Greenland, North America, Surinam, Labrador, and South Africa; then, during the second period, the Church undertook new tasks in Nicaragua, Western Tibet, Victoria, the Jerusalem Leper Home, Demerara, Alaska, California, Nyassa, North Queensland and Unyamwezi; and the fundamental difference between these two periods is that while, during the first period, the problems discussed at the General Synods were comparatively simple, during the second they became increasingly difficult and complex. During the first period the General Synod was, on the whole, a conservative body, and made few changes in method; during the second it had new problems to solve, and instituted several reforms. Let us now glance briefly at the chief resolutions affecting Foreign Missions passed at the General Synods.

Period 1. Consolidation, 1760-1848.

The first task was to frame a constitution. During Zinzendorf's lifetime no fixed constitution existed;

now a constitution was a necessity; and the first three Synods after his death are known as "Constitutional Synods."

1764 1. *The First Constitutional Synod*, 1764. The three resolutions affecting Foreign Missions were as follows:—

(*a*) The General Synod is the supreme legislative body. Thereby the principle was officially recognised that Foreign Missions are the work, not of some missionary society within the Moravian Church, but of the Moravian Church as a whole.

(*b*) General Synod appoints a supreme Inter-Synodal Governing Board, known as the Directory.

(*c*) One part of this Board, known as the Mission Department, manages the Foreign Missions.

1769 (2) *The Second Constitutional Synod*, 1769. The supreme governing Board is now called the Unity's Elders' Conference, and is generally referred to as the U.E.C. This U.E.C. now manages the Foreign Missions, and the Mission Department is simply a business committee acting under the U.E.C.'s authority.

1775 (3) *Third Constitutional Synod*, 1775. At this Synod an important resolution was passed that the U.E.C. should keep in touch with the mission fields by means of official visitations. Such visitations had, it is true, been occasionally made already. Henceforward, however, they were far more frequent.†

1782 (4) *General Synod*, 1782. At this Synod a resolution was passed that the U.E.C. should arrange for and authorise the publication of an official book of instructions for all missionaries. This was a change of

†For list of visitations see Appendix, p. 525.

importance. Formerly the missionaries had received their instructions almost exclusively from Zinzendorf; now they received them from the Moravian Church. The task was entrusted to Bishop Spangenberg. In 1784 his "Instructions for Brethren and Sisters working among the Heathen" appeared; English and Dutch translations were published; and this book—which, of course, was more than once revised—remained the Missionaries' Manual till 1889.

(5) *General Synod*, 1789. At this Synod the Mission Department was made an integral part of the U.E.C., and henceforth the U.E.C., during inter-synodal periods, exercised supreme authority. At this Synod, also, three important progressive measures were passed: 1789

(*a*) That the Mission in South Africa be resumed.
(*b*) That a new Mission be established in Tobago.
(*c*) That the S.F.G. be authorised to publish Quarterly Reports† of the mission work.

This was the origin of "Periodical Accounts." On the other hand the Synod was compelled to decline an invitation from William Wilberforce to establish a Mission in New Holland.

(6) *General Synod*, 1818. During the Napoleonic Wars information about mission work had been hard to obtain; this lack of information had caused a decline in missionary zeal; and this Synod remedied the evil by authorising the publication of regular reports. These reports appeared six times a year. This was the first step on the Continent towards the publication of a missionary magazine. 1818

(7) *General Synod*, 1836. At this Synod two resolutions of fundamental importance were passed: 1836

(*a*) That a Monthly Missionary Magazine be established for the Continental Province.

†Compare Book I., Chapter XIV., p. 194.

The Magazine was entitled *Missions-Blatt.*

(*b*) That the compulsory use of the Lot in the marriage of missionaries be abolished. This was the first step towards the complete abolition of the Lot. By degrees it fell into disuse, and by 1889 it had ceased altogether.

(8) *Summary Statement.* During this period, therefore, while the work was confined to the old fields, the General Synods, while making no drastic changes, had, at least, introduced some improvements. They had :—

(*a*) Organized a system of government.
(*b*) Arranged for official visitations.
(*c*) Provided the missionaries with official instructions.
(*d*) Authorised the publication of two Missionary Magazines.
(*e*) Begun the abolition of the Lot.

For other needful reforms, however, the time had not yet arrived. No attempt had yet been made to render the old fields self-supporting and self-governing; no improvements had been made in the mode of training the missionaries; and no financial system had been organized.

PERIOD 2. THE MODERN ADVANCE, 1848-1909.

1848 (1) *The Modern Advance Synod,* 1848. With this Synod we enter on a new epoch, and the causes of the great change should be carefully noted. The first cause, and the most important, was the general state of things in Europe. The great year of many revolutions had come. For some months before this General Synod assembled nearly every great city in Europe had been the scene of soul-stirring events, one politician spoke of this "proud epoch of

the world's history,"† and ardent reformers anticipated the fulfilment of Shelley's prophecy:—

The world's great age begins anew,
The golden years return,
The earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn;
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.

At Paris the people had risen in revolt, overthrown the French Monarchy, and re-established the French Republic. At Palermo, in Sicily, a similar revolution had taken place. At Venice and in some Italian cities there had been fierce fighting in the streets. At Vienna a huge mob had stormed the Royal Palace; at Prague, in Bohemia, the Czechs were fighting for Bohemian national independence; at Dublin Irish patriots were clamouring for a republic; and at Berlin, Stuttgart, and many other German cities great mass meetings had been held, fiery and seditious speeches delivered, and revolutionary doctrines propounded. On the Brethren such events made a profound impression. The more they reflected on these stupendous proceedings, the more convinced they became that a new epoch had arrived in the history of humanity. At any moment, they felt, Christ Himself might now appear as Judge and call His servants to account; and, not wishing to be ashamed before Him at His coming, they were now convinced that, ceasing to confine their efforts to the old fields, they must carry the Gospel to heathen still dwelling in darkness.

Nor was the general state of humanity the only impulse to new action. During the last few years there had been observed, both in the Home Provinces and in

†For a sketch of these events see "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. XI., Chapters II. to VII.

the mission fields, a great increase in evangelistic zeal. In the Continental Province, a great religious revival had begun at the Paedagogium at Niesky (1841); in Great Britain new societies on behalf of Moravian Missions had been founded, the "Yorkshire Society for the Spread of the Gospel," the "Edinburgh Association," and the "Glasgow Auxiliary Society"; and in the American Province the Moravian S.P.G. had showed renewed activity in its mission to the Indians. But the most hopeful feature of all was the zeal of the missionaries themselves. Never had gaps caused by death been so rapidly filled. In 1836 the number of missionaries was 218; in 1848, it was 288; and some of these new recruits were engaged in new enterprises. In the British West Indies, day-schools were being opened; in Surinam the Mission to the Bush Negroes had been revived; and in South Africa a new work had been begun among the Kaffirs.† On the financial side also the situation was bright. Of the seven fields now in existence three were entirely independent of central funds. Surinam was supported entirely by Kersten & Co.; Labrador by the S.F.G.; and South Africa by several business concerns. Such facts suggested new possibilities. At this Synod the question was now asked for the first time whether the old fields could not be made so independent that henceforth both men and money could be applied to entirely new enterprises; and, stimulated by this ideal, the Synod passed the following resolutions:—

(*a*) That a systematic attempt be made to render the work in the British West Indies entirely independent. In these islands, *i.e.*, the people were both to raise their own ministry and cover their own expenses.

†See Book II., pp. 288-99.

(*b*) That the question be considered whether Greenland and the Danish West Indies could not also be made independent.

(*c*) That fresh attempts be made to institute a Native Ministry, so that the converts would no longer require the services of European missionaries.

(*d*) That the chief object of these reforms should be to release men and money for new work.

(*e*) That, to stimulate interest in the Home Provinces, annual summer festivals be held.

(*f*) That, in response to pressing invitations, new Missions be established on the Moskito Coast and in Victoria.

Thus did the revolutionary movement in Europe inspire the Moravian Church with new ideals, and thus did this important Synod initiate the Modern Advance.

(2) *The Constitutional Synod*, 1857. The next step was to encourage self-government. At this Synod, therefore, two measures were passed whereby the missionaries themselves should play a more decided part in the discussion and management of mission concerns. In the past, missionaries had taken little part in General Synods, and even at this Synod, only three, specially summoned by the U.E.C., were present. But now the following definite arrangements were made :— 1857

(*a*) That, in each Missionary Province, the missionaries, meeting in regular conference, shall, if possible, prepare resolutions to be submitted to a General Synod.

(*b*) That the number of missionaries summoned to a General Synod shall in future be not fewer than five. Before summoning these

five, the U.E.C. shall first obtain the confidential votes of the missionaries.†

1869 (3) *The Mission-College Synod,* 1869. The next task was to make the missionaries more efficient. For one hundred and thirty-seven years (1732-1869), *i.e.*, ever since Zinzendorf gave a few lectures to the first recruits at Herrnhut, the Moravian Church had acted on the principle that if a candidate for foreign service was taught by the Holy Spirit, had peace with God through Christ, followed after holiness, and had the requisite mental endowments, no special training was required. No Mission College, therefore, existed; and though a few of the missionaries, having been trained for home service, or having taught in boarding-schools, were men of good education, the greater number still came from the artisan classes, passed through elementary day-schools, and acquired their theological knowledge either in a Brethren's House or in a Sunday School. In vain a few radicals had tried to introduce a reform. In 1825 the General Synod decided that a Mission College would be useless; in 1836 that such an institution would probably do more harm than good; in 1848 that the old methods of education were the best; and in 1857 that, if any candidate required further instruction, he might obtain all he needed, either by taking lessons from his minister, or by spending a year as teacher or lay-preacher in England. For this opposition to higher education the Brethren gave an explicit reason. At the 1836 Synod the question was fully discussed; schemes for more education were considered; and the Synod rejected those schemes on the ground that, with the

†At the next Synod (1869) this rule was slightly modified. The number summoned must not be fewer than four, and not more than six. The fields represented were South Africa, Surinam, Jamaica, Antigua, Greenland, Labrador.

exception of men already highly educated, the less education a man had the more loyal, more obedient, and more self-sacrificing he would be. High-class education might be good; half education was dangerous; and, the first being impossible, the second must be rejected. "Would it not be a pity," the Synod declared, "if, through a half-education, men, otherwise useful, lost their simplicity of mind and willingness to serve without reward?" Meanwhile, however, circumstances had altered in some of the mission fields. In the older fields, the native converts were now better educated, and the more educated the natives were, the more education, said the reformers, was required in the missionaries. At Fairfield, in Jamaica, Jacob Zorn had opened a Teachers' Training School; at Genadendal, in South Africa, Hottentots were obtaining government teaching certificates; and, so persistently did the reformers insist on such facts as these, that, early in 1869, the U.E.C., without waiting for a General Synod, opened a Mission College at Niesky, in Silesia. Thus did the Church introduce a new principle in the training of missionaries; and the action of the U.E.C. was warmly endorsed by the Synod. In 1885 a handsome building was erected; the course of training was to last three years; and the curriculum included Bible study, History of Missions, Homiletics, English language, Music, Gardening, Carpentry, and a little Medicine. In 1892 a Preparatory Mission School was opened at Königsfeld, in Baden (transferred in 1900 to Ebersdorf); in 1903 a Mission College was opened at Bristol for British students; and, both on the continent and in England, a few candidates became fully qualified medical practitioners.

(4) *The Self-Support Synod*, 1879. The next task was to make the old fields self-supporting. In one sense three fields, as we have seen, were self- 1879

supporting already, *i.e.*, they needed no financial assistance from central funds. With the aid of the S.F.G. Labrador was self-supporting; with the aid of business concerns, both Surinam and South Africa could cover their own expenses; and now the great question was whether the West Indies and Greenland could not be placed in the same position. Of these two, the West Indies seemed the more hopeful. Already, certain important steps had been taken. In 1847 the work in Jamaica was placed under a General Conference, consisting of five missionaries; in 1850 the U.E.C. decided that each congregation might elect a Congregation Council; in 1869 each Council was empowered to elect a Committee authorised, like the Committees in the Home Provinces, to look after temporalities; and in 1878 a Theological College was opened at Fairfield in Jamaica. Thus, it was hoped, the West Indian congregations might not only pay their own expenses, but also raise their own Native Ministry. With this two-fold purpose, the General Synod resolved :—

(*a*) That the West Indian Field be divided into two Provinces; the Western consisting of Jamaica alone, the Eastern of the other islands.

(*b*) That each Province be under a Governing Board, appointed by the U.E.C.

(*c*) And that each year the grant to the West Indies be gradually reduced. In 1880 the grant was to be £3,000; each year the amount would be reduced by £300; and by 1890 it would be *nil*.

Thus, in eleven years, each West Indian Province would become financially independent. But this scheme was only partially successful. As the Theological College at Fairfield had to be closed—

partly, it seems, because the students did not prove satisfactory—the Brethren in the West Indies were not yet able to establish a Native Ministry, and about the same time there arose such a serious crisis in the sugar industry that many of the West Indian converts were reduced to great poverty. In 1890, therefore, a new sliding-scale had to be adopted. For 1890 the grant would be £900; each year it would be reduced by £90; and thus, by 1900, the two West Indian Provinces would be self-supporting. But once again bad trade conditions rendered the scheme ineffectual. In 1900 the grant to the West Indies was still £1,000; and in 1914 it had risen to £1,700. Nevertheless, the West Indian Provinces were almost independent. In Jamaica the sum now raised was £9,000; in the Western Province it was £8,000; and thus the West Indian Provinces covered nine-tenths of their expenses. Meanwhile, there had also been an increase in the number of native ministers. At the close of 1913 there were nine native ministers in Jamaica, and thirteen in the Eastern Province.

(5) *The Missionary Literature Synod*, 1889. The next task was to enlighten the Moravian public. At this Synod an important resolution was passed that some Moravian Brother should be appointed to write a systematic "History of Moravian Missions"; and that, while engaged in this great task, he should, in the meantime, bring out books and pamphlets dealing with the various mission fields. For this purpose the man selected was H. G. Schneider. To some extent Schneider succeeded. On the one hand he failed to produce a systematic history; on the other hand he became a popular pamphleteer; and, making his headquarters at Herrnhut, where he could converse with retired missionaries and thereby obtain good local colour, he produced a series of sketches of 1889

the highest value to future historians. In every field Schneider seemed quite at home. He wrote the history of the Missions in Tibet, Victoria, Moskito, Alaska, and North Queensland; he told the early story of Genadendal; he described in detail both Paramaribo and Leh in Kashmir; he painted a brilliant picture of a Christmas in Labrador; he unravelled the story of the Bush Negroes; and further, in a series of short biographies, he immortalised such men as Jens Haven, of Labrador, Frederick Martin, Hans Peter Hallbeck, in South Africa, and the Kaffir Evangelists, Stephen Prins and Elias. The example of Schneider was followed by other writers. During the next twenty years several series of missionary pamphlets appeared. Schneider's chief series was known as "The Good Message"; another series, edited by Guido Burkhardt, was called "Missionary Studies"; a third, edited by H. Kluge, was called "Little Tracts"; a fourth was "In Distant Heathen Lands"; and a fifth "To all the World." At the same time, it must be candidly admitted that little work of this kind was done either in England or in North America. Bishop Arthur Ward, in his "Miracle of Mapoon," narrated the history of the North Queensland Mission; the Rev. J. W. Davey, in the "Fall of Torngak" and "Through Flood and Storm," dealt respectively with Labrador and the North American Indians; and three of H. G. Schneider's works, "Tibet," "Stephen Prins," and "Hanzina Hinz" were translated into English. But these exceptions simply proved the rule, and the lack of English popular missionary literature may have accounted, to some extent, for the shortage of candidates.

1899 (6) *The Finance Synod*, 1899. The next task was to meet increasing financial liabilities. By the close of the nineteenth century, the financial situation

had become critical, and the chief cause of the crisis was the rapid extension of the work. But other causes had also operated. Let us note :—

(*a*) The chief sources of income.
(*b*) The increasing outlay.
(*c*) The remedy proposed.

(*a*) *The Sources of Income.* Originally the missionaries worked for their living; only their travelling expenses were paid by the Church; and in Zinzendorf's days not even Church collections were permitted. For many years after Zinzendorf's death the Brethren relied for most of their income on various business firms. In London there was the S.F.G.; in Surinam the firm of Kersten & Co.; and in South Africa there were not only the grocery, book-binding, and printing firm at Genadendal, but also a sheep farm at Elim, a factory at Mamre, and a corn-mill at Shiloh. For some years each of these undertakings brought large profits; then, for various reasons, chiefly political upheavals and changes in prices, they fell on bad times, and the expenses of the newer fields fell almost entirely on General Funds. The other sources of income were various. Some of the money came from collections and donations in the Home Provinces; some, of course, from legacies; and some from various Auxiliary Societies. Of these Societies at least ten were inside the Moravian Church. In England we find :—

(1) The S.F.G., 1741.
(2) The Juvenile Missionary Association, founded at Ockbrook Boys' School, by Jackson Shawe, the headmaster, 1868.
(3) The Mite Association, 1883.

In North America :—

(4) The S.P.G., 1745.

(5) The North Carolina S.P.G., 1823.
(6) The Alaska Help Society, 1886.

In Holland :—
(7) The Zeist Missionary Society, 1738.

In Denmark :—
(8) The North-Schleswig Union, for the Danish West Indies, 1843.

In Germany and Switzerland :—
(9) The Half-Penny Union, 1877.

In Jamaica :—
(10) The Moravian Missionary Society, 1900.

There were also societies outside the Moravian Church. In Holland there was the Hague "Society for Furtherance of Christian Knowledge Among Negro Slaves" (1828), supported largely by Dutch planters; in England there were Ladies' Associations at London, Bath, Bristol, and Leominster; and in Scotland there were not only the Edinburgh Association and the Glasgow Auxiliary (1828), but several smaller local societies in close connection with Presbyterian Churches.

The most wonderful society, however, is still to be mentioned. As the Moravian Church had suffered much on the continent through the ravages of Napoleon, some London gentlemen established the
1817 "London Association in aid of Moravian Missions." The leader and the first Secretary was the Rev. John Bull, an Anglican clergyman; the Treasurer for many years was William Leach; and the first headquarters were John Bull's residence, 16, Southampton Place, Euston Square. According to the printed rules of the society, any person who subscribed one guinea per year, or collected sixpence a week, could become a member; no denominational test was imposed; and among the earlier members

we find, not only several Anglican Bishops, but Nonconformists like Rowland Hill, philanthropists like William Wilberforce, and society ladies like the Duchess of Beaufort, Lady Walpole, Mrs. Noel, and Mrs. Gladstone. The Committee soon set to work. They published annual reports of Moravian Missions; they established branches all over the country; and they pleaded the cause, not only in Anglican Churches, but also among Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection. From the first, however, the Anglicans took the lead. The President was generally a prominent Churchman; the list of Vice-presidents included the Primate and several Bishops and Deans; the Secretary was an Anglican clergyman; and the annual sermon was preached in a London Church. Among the annual preachers the most noted were Legh Richmond, Dean Freemantle, H. C. G. Moule (late Bishop of Durham), J. C. Ryle (late Bishop of Liverpool), and Prebendary Webb-Peploe. For this Anglican sympathy two special reasons may be given. In the first place, some members of the C.M.S. had consulted the Moravian Mission Secretary, C. I. La Trobe, on certain missionary problems, and were grateful for the information received; and, secondly, some Anglican missionaries had visited Gruenekloof in South Africa, and had there formed a high opinion of the value of Moravian work. The Association raised large sums of money. In 1818 the sum was £667 2s. 7d. During the first fifty years the average income was about £5,000; in 1868 it rose to £11,000; from 1890 onward it was over £7,000; from 1895 it was over £10,000; and in 1902, the record year, the total was £19,000. Thus did Englishmen help a Church to which they themselves did not belong.

(*b*) *The Increasing Outlay.* In 1800 the annual expense was only £3,000; in 1834 it was about £10,000; in 1848 it was £30,000; and in 1898 it was £83,000. On several occasions the Church had passed through a crisis. In 1750 the Missions were nearly bankrupt, and Zinzendorf's wealthy friends had to come to the rescue; in 1789 the debt was £6,000; in 1818 it was nearly £7,000; in 1876 it was £6,000, and in 1897 it was £12,000. For Moravians these were large sums. Each time a deficiency occurred some special effort had to be made; no one knew when a deficiency might occur; and in 1882 Eugene Reichel declared that the Moravian Church was living from hand to mouth.

For another reason, too, the situation was critical. The more rapidly the foreign field extended, the more obvious it became that the Moravian Church was growing "top-heavy."† In Germany, England, and America the progress was slow; in the foreign field it was fairly rapid. In the Home Provinces the number of members was only about 30,000; in the foreign field it had risen to 90,000; and the obvious conclusion was that, unless the converts themselves gave more, the Home Church would soon have a greater burden than it could bear. During the last half-century, the Home Church had increased by only a quarter; abroad the membership had doubled, and the expense had increased four-fold. At this rate breaking-point seemed not far off.

Nor was even this the worst. In another and deeper sense the situation was critical. The more the foreign work developed, the more it became known to the Christian public; the more it was known, the more highly it was valued; and the more it was valued the more frequently the Brethren were asked to take up fresh work. At every Synod the Mission

†At the General Synod in 1909 this word was frequently used.

Board reported that so many invitations had been received, and at every Synod they had to confess that chiefly for lack of money most of those invitations had been declined. On the surface the record was bright; in reality it was heart-breaking. During the last fifty years the Brethren had accepted no fewer than ten invitations. At the request of Prince Waldenberg they had gone to Moskito; of Dr. Gutzlaff to Western Tibet; of Governor Hutt to Victoria; of the Presbyterians to North Queensland; of Dr. Sheldon Jackson to Alaska; of certain American women to California; of Quintin Hogg to Demerara; of Mackay of Uganda, to Nyassa; of the L.M.S. to Unyamwezi; and of the Baroness Ascheraden to Jerusalem. For every invitation accepted, however, at least two had been refused. To us English readers it is interesting to notice that most of the invitations came from England. In 1868 the Brethren were invited to Montserrat by a certain Sturges; in 1869 to Algiers, by Pastor Demole; in 1870 to Chinese Mongolia, by Pastor Edkins; in 1871 to Circassia, by Dr. Wrightson, and to China, by the Bishop of Victoria; in 1872 to Queensland, by Pastor Hausmann, to the Andaman Islands, by Captain Laughton, and to Porto Rico by a local planter; in 1873 to San Domingo, by some one not named; in 1874 to Kashgar and Yarkand, by General Lake; in 1874 or 1875 to Brazil, by the Manager of the London Brazilian Bank; in 1876 to the Argentine, by a Mrs. or Miss Perrens, and to the Congo by Robert Arthington, of Leeds; in 1877 to Antigua, to take charge of the Mico Charity, by the Secretary of the same; in 1878 to Ecuador, by a German trader; in 1880 to the Argentine, by Mrs. Von Oppelt; in 1886 to Honduras, by the English Aborigines Protection Society, and to Cumberland Inlet, by certain Scotch friends in Dundee; in 1889 to the

Nicobar Islands, by Charlotte Tucker (A.L.O.E.); in 1890 to Honduras, by Mrs. Pemell, and to North Alaska, by the United States Government; in 1891 to British Columbia, by J. T. Morton, the tea merchant, and to Dominica, by the Governor of Antigua; in 1892 to Hayti, by the President of the Hayti Republic; in 1893 to North China, by the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in Boston; in 1895 to Peru, by a resident named Lamp; in 1898 to Florida, by a certain Turner, to the Argentine, by W. Barnett, and to Japan, by a Japanese clergyman; in 1899 to Malabar, by Gelson Gregson; in 1900 to Fox Channel, West of Baffin's Land, by C. J. Peck, of the C.M.S.; in 1901 to St. Eustace, by the Governor; in 1902 to Venezuela, by J. W. Crichton; in 1905 to Johannesburg, first by the London Medical Mission, to work among the Chinese, and then by the South African General Missionary Conference, to minister to Kaffirs, to Central Africa, near Lake Tanganyika, by the French Missionary, Louis Jalla, and to the Isle of Saghalin, by Dr. Dalton; in 1906 to the South of Lake Victoria Nyanza, by the C.M.S.; and in 1907 to Kurdistan and Mesopotamia, by Marie Anholm, a Swedish writer.

At the close of the century, therefore, the record was sad. In the last fifty years the Brethren had received no fewer that thirty-five invitations; and twenty-five of the number had been declined. And in nearly every case the reason was lack of money.

Meanwhile, another financial embarrassment had occurred. For some years the Brethren had been generously treated by the great English tea merchant, J. T. Morton, and then, in his will, he left the Brethren about £250,000. In the eyes of the public this was a great boon. In reality it added fresh burdens. As the money was doled out only in instalments,

to be spent in founding and maintaining new stations, the Church, by accepting the gift, simply increased her liabilities.

(*c*) *The Proposed Remedy.* The situation, therefore, seemed almost desperate. In the past the Moravian Church had lived from hand to mouth; now more businesslike methods were demanded; and the Synod passed the following resolutions:—

(1) That a Finance Committee be appointed to assist the Mission Board.

(2) That an annual Budget be issued, so that the Church might know beforehand what, if any, deficiencies might be expected.

(3) That capable business-men be appointed to manage the business concerns in the mission fields.

(4) That the Morton money be used, not to open new fields, but only to build new stations.

(5) And that the annual contribution to the West Indies be limited to a definite amount.

The new policy had little success. At bottom the real question was, not merely whether the income could be increased, but whether it could increase more rapidly than the expenditure; and during the next ten years the expenditure was greater then ever. The result was a constant struggle. In every annual statement but one, the Mission Board had to report a deficiency. In 1902 the deficiency was over £8,000; in 1907 it was £12,000; and in 1908 it was £20,000. Can anything be done, it was asked, to cause such deficiencies to cease? The next Synod suggested an answer.

(7) *The Native Church Synod,* 1909. The last task was the hardest of all. At a General Mission 1909

Conference in East Central Africa (1901), attended by representatives of six missionary societies—the Scotch Church, the Livingstonian Mission, the L.M.S., the Zambezi Industrial, the First Berlin, and the Moravian Church—great stress had been laid on the idea that Africa must be evangelized by Africans; with this conception some Moravians sympathized; and thus the idea of Native Provinces now began to take definite form. Let us not, however, regard this conception as entirely new. For sixty-one years (1848-1909) the Moravian Church had cherished similar ideals. As soon as the Brethren entered on the Modern Advance, they conceived the idea of Native Provinces. In 1848 the General Synod declared that, if possible, each Province should have its Native Ministry; in 1857 that more Native Assistants should be trained; in 1869 that all congregations should be "self-sustaining and served by their own native labourers"; and in 1879 that the failure of previous efforts should not cause discouragement. But the most important step in this direction had been taken by the 1899 Synod. At this Synod a resolution was passed that each of the two West Indian Provinces should be placed, constitutionally, in the same position as the Home Provinces. Each, *i.e.*, should have its own Provincial Synod, consisting partly of *ex-officio* members and partly of delegates elected by the congregation councils; each should have its own Governing Board; and each Board should be empowered to send two delegates to a General Synod. In one sense only were the West Indian Provinces not quite as independent as the Home Provinces. As the West Indian Provinces still received financial aid from the Mission Board, the Board still reserved the right to veto their decisions. Thus did the 1899 Synod nearly, though not quite, establish two Native Provinces in the West

Indies; and the hope was expressed that similar arrangements might soon be made in Surinam and South Africa.

In what sense, then, and to what extent, was the Native Church idea, now propounded by the Mission Board, a new one? What precisely, at this Synod, was meant by the phrase "Native Church"? Did the advocates of this ideal mean that, at some time, South Africa and Surinam should, like the two West Indian Provinces, be self-governing Provinces belonging to the Moravian Church, using Moravian forms of worship, and sending delegates to a General Synod? No. By the term Native Church they meant an entirely independent National Church. Such a Church would be self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing; such a Church would provide its own ministry, raise its own funds, make its own laws, and determine its own forms of worship; such a Church, in a word, would be entirely independent; and over such a Church neither the Moravian nor any other denomination would have the least authority.

During the next five years, however, the Native Church idea was merely a dream. In the West Indies it was sternly rejected. In South Africa, Surinam, and East Central Africa only certain preliminary steps were taken; conferences, attended by the native delegates, met to discuss the question; and thus, when the Great War began, the problem was still unsolved.

SUMMARY STATEMENT.

Such, then, was the work accomplished by these seven General Synods. They had

(1) Conceived the idea of self-supporting provinces, so that men and money might be released for new work — 1848

1857	(2)	Authorised the missionaries to meet in conference, prepare resolutions for a General Synod, and send voting members.
1869	(3)	Established a Mission College.
1879	(4)	Endeavoured to make the West Indies self-supporting.
1889	(5)	Arranged for the publication of popular literature.
1899	(6)	Introduced the idea of financial budgets.
1909	(7)	Made plans for the formation of Native Churches.

Chapter III.

THE SYNOD OF 1914; OR, MORAVIAN MISSIONARY IDEALS.

At the General Synod in 1909 a resolution was passed that, as the Foreign Missions were in a critical state—so critical that retrenchments were ordered—the next General Synod should meet, not after the usual ten years' interval, but in the Summer of 1914; this resolution was carried into effect, and the interesting feature of this last Synod was that, while the Brethren dealt with some practical problems, they also seized their opportunity to re-assert their undying faith in certain old Moravian Christian ideals. Never did a General Synod meet at a more fateful epoch in world history. The time was one of calm before the storm. The opening service was held on May 13th; on June 13th the members parted; and only fifteen days later, Sunday, June 28th, the Archduke Ferdinand was murdered. Let us now glance briefly at the latest Moravian Missionary manifesto.

(1) *The Evangelistic Ideal.* For twenty-five years the English member of the Mission Board had been Bishop Benjamin La Trobe, formerly known to English Moravians as Editor of "Periodical Accounts"; at this Synod he gave the opening address, and taking as his text the words which had thrilled Leonard Dober in the golden days: "*It is not a vain thing for you, because it is your life*" (Deut. xxxii., 47), Bishop La Trobe made bold to assert that, in spite of increasing deficiencies, not a single mission field need be abandoned. In the past, he declared, God had ever come to the Brethren's

aid; let the Brethren, therefore, advance and trust; and following the Bishop's lead, the members of the Synod sang the old pre-reformation hymn :—

The Lord is never far away,
But, through all grief distressing,
An ever present help and stay,
Our peace, and joy, and blessing;
As with a mother's tender hand,
He leads His own, His chosen band;
To God all praise and glory.†

But now came the great question. Was this optimistic faith quite justified? Could the Church still dare to advance, trusting in the Lord God to provide the means? At first sight stern fact seemed to teach the very opposite. According to the explicit statement of the Mission Board, the years 1907-12 were the most critical years in the whole history of Moravian Missions. During these five years the total deficiencies had actually risen to £61,633. In 1907 the deficiency was £12,000; in 1908, £15,100; in 1909, £10,850; in 1910, £10,248; in 1911, £6,207; in 1912, £6,248; and in 1913, £4,173. Nor was this long list of deficiencies the most serious feature of the case. In vain, during the last five years, had the Mission Board, acting according to the instructions of the 1909 Synod, pursued a policy of retrenchment. In vain had they reduced the staff of missionaries in the West Indies, Nicaragua, South Africa, Labrador, East Central Africa, and Tibet; the more the Mission Board endeavoured to retrench, the more expenses seemed to increase; and now the Mission Board announced that by the close of 1914 there would probably be another deficiency of over £10,000. What lesson, however, it was asked, was really taught by the foregoing figures? Was it really a lesson of

†For the whole hymn see Moravian Hymn Book, No. 530.

despair ? Did the deficiencies necessitate still further retrenchment ? On the contrary. Each time a serious deficiency had occurred, God had touched the hearts of generous men ; and, during the five most critical years, the £61,000 required had been subscribed. Nor was this the only cause of encouragement. Had not certain Moravians recently formed the " Unyamwezi League " to save Unyamwezi from being handed over to the Herrmansburg Missionary Society ? Had not others just formed a " League of Help " ? And did not others, while Synod was sitting, form the " Young People's Missionary League " ? In the Mission Provinces, also, there were signs of renewed activity. In Nyassa steps had been taken towards the formation of a Native Church ; in Unyamwezi new work had just been begun among the Mahometans ; in Labrador the Eskimos had begun to subscribe more liberally to Church funds ; in Nicaragua the Government had just granted full religious liberty ; in Alaska the missionaries had just built a new station, Akiak ; in California William Weinland was expecting the speedy solution of the land problem ; and in Tibet a member of the C.M.S had just written to inform the Mission Board that if the Moravians did not advance their reputation as a Missionary Church was at stake. Inside the Moravian Church, therefore, there were now renewed liberality and enthusiasm ; Foreign Missions were once more recognised as the work of the whole Church ; and, thus encouraged, the General Synod decided that, as in the days of Zinzendorf, the Moravian Church was still called to proclaim the Saviour to the world.

(2) *The International Ideal.* Among the features of European history during the nineteenth century the most significant was what historians call the " Rise of Nationalities " ; this growth in national

feeling led to rivalry; and knowing how this, in turn, might lead to war, the Moravians now laid special stress on the international character of their Church. In the political world the ideal seemed to be international competition; in the Christian it should be international co-operation; and this international co-operation had always been a marked feature of the Moravian Church. Let us note precisely how this ideal was carried out in practice.

(*a*) First, the Moravian missionaries had long worked, and were still working, under various Governments; most of the mission stations were in colonies; and in every colony the missionaries, co-operating with the Government, had taught the people to be loyal to the country to which that colony belonged. On this point the standard tale was that of Bishop Spangenberg in St. Thomas. "Have you seen my castle?" said the Governor to the Bishop, pointing to the Brethren's plantation. "There it is. There is the cause of our safety on this island. If that plantation were not there, I dare not sleep a night outside the fort." Nor was St. Thomas an exceptional case. According to Zinzendorf himself, one of the chief duties of a missionary was to teach the converts to be loyal to the Government; and that duty had always been faithfully performed. In Pennsylvania, Bishop Spangenberg, acting as a British citizen, had loyally defended Bethlehem against the attacks of French Indians. In Labrador the Red Ensign flew above the Mission House, and the Eskimos sent a loyal address to King Edward VII. In Jamaica the Moravian converts defended

their masters' property against the rebels. In the Danish West Indies several Governors had extolled the converts' loyalty. In Surinam the missionaries had even taught the fierce Bush Negroes to be loyal. In South Africa Moravian Hottentots had fought under British generals against Kaffir rebels; and later, during the Boer War, Kaffir converts—among them two of Zibi's sons—had enlisted in the British Army. In Victoria, Hagenauer was made an official Government Inspector, and had taught the Papus to sing the National Anthem and shout "Three cheers for Queen Victoria." In North Queensland, Nicholas Hey was appointed manager of the Native Reserve. In Moskito, Moravian Missionaries had acted as collectors of taxes; in Alaska they helped the Government to take the census and foster the reindeer industry; and in Tibet, at the Government's request, they taught the people farming. For all such services as these the missionaries had often been highly praised. Sir William MacGregor had praised them both in Labrador and in North Queensland, Sir George Grey in South Africa, Sir Horace Tozer in North Queensland, George Washington in North America, and Danish officials in Greenland. On the other hand various governments had also aided the missionaries. In South Africa and Labrador the British Government had granted tracts of land, and in the British West Indies it had aided day-schools. The Dutch Government had given free passages, and aided the Leper work in Surinam; the Danish had aided schools in the West Indies, and encouraged

industry in Greenland; and the U.S.A. had introduced reindeer in Alaska.

(*b*) Secondly, the missionaries themselves had come, and still came, from different nationalities. At the time when this Synod assembled men differing from each other in blood were working loyally side by side in several mission fields, and in the past nine different nations had produced distinguished missionaries. Frederick Martin was a Silesian; James Ward, English; Marc Richard, Swiss; Hans Peter Hallbeck, a Swede; Henry Marsveld, a Dutchman; Jens Haven, a Dane; William Weinland, an American; John Kilbuck, a Red Indian; John Dingwall, a Negro. In 1900 an estimate was made that the total number of missionaries sent out by the Moravian Church since 1732 was 1,473; and the full list includes, besides men from various parts of Germany, twenty-eight Irishmen, one Scot, one Frenchman, twenty-nine Russians, ten Norwegians, forty-two Czechs, one Hungarian, two Maltese, and one Austrian. Thus, not counting native assistants, Moravian missionaries came from eighteen different nations.

(*c*) Thirdly, these missionaries preached to many different nations. In spite of its smallness, the Moravian Church had long been one of the most cosmopolitan. At a children's Christmas service at Zeist, in Holland, six men sang six solos in six different languages, and at a service at Herrnhaag, in the Wetterau, John Cennick, in 1746, had heard a hymn sung in twenty-two languages; and

the number of languages now spoken in the Church is said to be thirty-two. From such facts as these one sound conclusion could be drawn. In the Moravian Church different nations had learned to co-operate with each other for the sake of the Kingdom of God; that was the true international ideal; and the Brethren now passed a resolution that they, according to their ability, would do their utmost to maintain international peace and goodwill.

(3) *The Church Co-operation Ideal.* At the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, to which the Moravian Church sent several delegates, great stress had been laid on the need for more co-operation between different churches in the foreign field; soon afterwards Bishop E. R. Hassé,† a prominent English Moravian, read a paper on this topic before the Eastern Counties Clerical Association; and the same topic was also discussed at a General Missionary Conference in South Africa. With this ideal the Moravians had always been in full sympathy. At the outset Zinzendorf had warned the Brethren that they must never quarrel with other Churches; and in every mission field the missionaries endeavoured to conform to those instructions. As the Brethren had no distinctive creed, they had generally been able to live on good terms with Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans, and other Protestants; and even when they opposed the Greek and Roman Churches, they did so, not so much on dogmatic grounds, but because the priests of those Churches sometimes set a lower moral standard before the people. Already, also, a few examples of inter-

†Author of "The Moravians," "Life of Count Zinzendorf," and article on the Moravians in Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics."

denominational co-operation had occurred. In Australia, as we have seen, the Brethren had co-operated with the Presbyterians; in St. Thomas they joined with Anglicans, Wesleyans, Lutherans, and the Danish and Dutch Reformed Churches, in founding a Temperance League; in Surinam they joined with Lutherans and the Dutch Reformed Church in work among the Lepers; in South Africa they trained candidates at Genadendal for service in other churches; and in Unyamwezi they combined, first with the Berlin Society in the translation of the New Testament and the publication of a Hymn Book, then with several other societies in the publication of a Magazine, "Coast and Inland," and then both with the C.M.S. and the Berlin Mission in the establishment of a college for native evangelists. With such examples as these, however, the Brethren were not content; and now they passed a resolution that, both in the Home Provinces and in the mission fields, all opportunities for Church fellowship, for common work, and for firmer alliance and unity, should receive sympathetic consideration.

Thus did the Brethren, at their General Synod—only seven weeks before the Great War began—reassert their faith in three inspiring missionary ideals, and one of the problems set by the conflict was how far, and by what methods, those ideals could be realised.

EPILOGUE.

By Bishop Arthur Ward,
British Member of the Mission Board.

The General Synod of the Church that met at Herrnhut in 1914 had scarcely ended when the Crown Prince of Austria was murdered at Serajevo, and rumours of war began. The delegates had not all reached home when the Great War broke out, which was to change not only the map of the world, but its outlook, and consequently the views of Governments regarding Foreign Missions.

It was well for Moravian Missions that the constitution of the Church was elastic, and that a certain degree of self-government had been introduced into almost all the Provinces, for central control ceased immediately. The Governing Boards of the Church in those countries which formed the Home Base had to consider how each individually could best ensure the continuance of the work, for concerted action was out of the question. America at first was neutral, but when she took up arms, correspondence between her and the enemy countries ceased absolutely. Britain, after a vain attempt to avert the attack on Belgium, declared war on the invader, but correspondence with enemy countries was permitted through neutral countries, provided the letters were sent unsealed and did not deal with finance. The Continental Province was a house divided against itself, for, while Germany was at war with Britain and America, and Czecho-Slovakia was dragged in on her side as a part of the Austrian Empire, Russia, including Poland and the Baltic States, was against

her, and the rest of the countries included in the Province were neutral. The Central Mission Board could only ask the Provincial Mission Boards to act for it in all cases in which it could not act for itself, and wait patiently to see how God would guide the ark through the storm.

The first problems that had to be faced were administrative and financial. The former were simplified by subsequent events. The American member of the Board, having completed a visitation in Nicaragua, went home to the States and gave his support to the Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.† The British member, having gone through all the formalities connected with the constitution of the newly-elected Board in 1914, returned home, and, after the death of his predecessor, acted in consultation with the British Provincial Mission Board.

The partition of the foreign fields among the Home Provinces followed inevitable lines. Alaska and California had been managed by America for a long time, so that the war made no change in their case. Now Nicaragua naturally passed under her care. Germany retained the administration of Surinam. East Africa was completely isolated, and the Home Church received no word of it. Jerusalem, cut off from Britain by the entry of Turkey into the war, was maintained by Germany, until the conquest of Palestine threw it into the British sphere. The West Indies, already possessing Governing Boards and Synods, quietly assumed the final prerogative of autonomy. All the rest of the mission fields were dependent on London, being in British colonies.

The new financial administration had also had the

†The American Moravian Missionary Society, organized 1745, incorporated 1788.

way paved for it by custom. The agencies in England and America simply continued to disburse as before the money entrusted to them. The only difference was that each accounted to its own Provincial Mission Board and its auditors instead of to the Central Board. They suffered, however, from the disadvantage that almost all the Mission endowments were invested in Germany, so that the interest was not available for any field except Surinam, and, when the collapse of the German exchange turned the value of the mark into less than a farthing, was useless even for that field. But in all these perplexities one could not but admire the steadfastness and fortitude of the Church and its missionaries, and attach new value to the fact that its litany contains the prayer to be saved from "needless perplexity."

Such a frame of mind was especially needed in facing the problem how to man the field, if the average losses through death and infirmity occurred; for the colleges were empty, and those who should have gone out year by year to fill the gaps were scattered over the battle-line that stretched from the Orkneys to Mesopotamia, while some of the men in the mission field were interned or repatriated. In the providence of God the losses through death, age, and infirmity were small in those years. Few took furlough. Some cheerfully did the work of two men, as well as they could, lest the cause of Christ should suffer loss.

In North Queensland the work of a generation came to its logical conclusion. A heathen camp had become a Christian village. Two other stations had sprung from it, which, though they had not developed in the same way, were as lights in a dark night. Its social system had been moulded in such a way as to retain all that was best, while introducing,

gradually and wisely, such changes as are necessary when men pass from the life of the roaming savage to the ordered home of the Christian citizen. It had an out-station, where the experiment of settling picked men as small farmers was crowned with success. At last, however, when the pioneers who had created all this were worn out, the next step had to be decided. Mrs. Ward retired in 1918, and her place was taken for a year by her niece. The special task of the last year was the building of a hospital with two wards—for men and women. There was not quite time to erect the matron's room, but the timber was prepared. The matron was Maud, a half-caste, who had been educated at the station and had become a gifted helper. In October, 1919, the Heys left Mapoon, and this field ceased to be a Foreign Mission of the Moravian Church, and became a Home Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, which had been from the first the financial partner in the enterprise. It is seldom that a man is able to look back upon such a definite creation, as the result of his life's work, as that which Hey resigned into the hands of his successor. His name will live together with the names of those great missionaries, who not only served their generation according to the will of God, but also established or maintained the reputation of the Moravian Church as the possessor of this grace, to preach unto Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.

The Mission in Tibet was hard hit by the war, for remote as the stations are, and inaccessible at times, yet, lying on three of the roads from India to Central Asia, they were not negligible at such a time, even in so vast an Empire. The British Government removed all German missionaries from the Tibetan

stations and repatriated them.† Those who were left did their best; but when the war was over, and furloughs became due, and overdue, it was clear that unless a native ministry could be founded, it would scarcely be possible to maintain the field. The training of natives for the ministry had often been talked of, and at one time an attempt had been made to establish a training-school, but it had been abandoned. Just when the need was greatest, two men, recommended by the missionaries, and accepted by the native church, who had gathered experience as teachers and evangelists, were ordained in 1920, the first-fruits of the Tibetan ministry. One of them, a man of considerable ability and with a notable history, was placed in full charge of Kyelang, with a native committee to advise him. The withdrawal of the C.M.S. and Salvation Army workers from the Kulu and Sutlej Valleys has left men in Kyelang and Poo more isolated than ever. In the Indus Valley the C.M.S. Mission in Srinagar, though it is 200 miles away from our nearest station, and on the other side of the mountain passes, gives a certain support, and does much to relieve the feeling of loneliness.

The Leper Home in Jerusalem, being a pure work of mercy, was able to continue its work unhindered, whatever power held the country. The partition of the Ottoman dominions east of the Mediterranean among Arabs, French, and English, has created frontiers where none used to exist, and makes intercommunication more difficult; but even apart from this the signs all point to the possibility that the segregation of so many lepers in the home for nearly two generations has decreased the number in the land. For several years fewer have been heard of,

†When it was found that men who were repatriated were made use of in one way or another in connexion with the war, the British Government began to intern.

and the numbers, both in our Home and in the Shelter at Siloah, have diminished. This, also, is something that was to be expected. The cure of one patient leads to the hope that in time medicine may come successfully to the aid of common sense. Meanwhile, both the patients and those who tend them live in hope.

In East Africa the war surged backwards and forwards for four years, and men of many races passed through it. When peace came, all our missionaries in Unyamwezi except two had been repatriated, though some of them were Danes; those in Nyassa had been interned. The United Free Church of Scotland kindly undertook the care of Nyassa until Moravian missionaries can man the field again. When permission was given to recommence work in Unyamwezi, only Gaarde, a Dane, was left. Delay in settling the terms of the mandate, and arranging the boundary between Congo and Tanganyika, delayed the sending of reinforcements, and as time passed, financial perplexities grew, until prudence seemed to forbid what duty seemed to demand. Considering the determined opposition of Mahometanism, and the passive resistance and incessant temptations of heathenism, the faithfulness of so many of the Christian converts, mere babes in Christ, is matter for thankfulness mingled with wonder. The medical missionary and the nurse will be much needed in this land for many years.

Thanks to the high prices of all South African products, Kaffraria paid its way but for one remittance, and the Western Province required no help. Both had sufficient constitutional authority to manage their own affairs, as long as these followed the usual routine. Trouble began when the legislation of the South African Government, consisting of a sweeping law of confiscation and a series of

proclamations, some of which were mutually contradictory, brought about an unprecedented situation. Happily, the Government finally interpreted its legislation in such a way as to give to the Church in South Africa, free of cost, a body of trustees appointed by itself. A revision of the constitution of the Western Province having become necessary, this was drawn up so as to give greater self-government and prepare the way for the complete autonomy which must come with the creation of a Native Church, whether it chooses to remain a part of the Mother Church, or to go its own way. When the re-organization was completed, those Provinces reverted to the supervision of the German part of the Supreme Board, since the family interests of most of the missionaries centred there.

The Moravian Church in the West Indies is divided into two parts: Jamaica standing by itself, and the rest of the Islands being grouped together. As the white missionaries have become fewer, work has become more strenuous for those who remain. Nor is it always easy to arrange things for the best in islands that belong to three different states,† and all such difficulties were naturally increased when political and financial obstacles were added to those already created by distance, Obeah, and the other familiar foes found by the missionary in tropical lands. When the world was clamouring for foodstuffs, especially sugar, emigration to sugar-growing islands, such as Cuba and San Domingo, became abnormal. The Church followed up its children in San Domingo, but had not the men and means to go over to Cuba. But from these islands considerable sums of money were sent

†On March 31st, 1917, the three Danish Islands—St. Thomas, St Croix, and St. John—were transferred to the United States of North America.—J.E.H.

home to the wives and families left behind, and everywhere there arose a complete change in the conditions of life, similar to those experienced in European countries, where increase of wages and cost of living produced a medley of profusion and poverty, which confused the minds of those accustomed to the old landmarks of society. In spite of all this, the loyal co-operation of all, together with the divine blessing resting upon all honest effort, resulted in progress, and in a spirit of harmony that rose superior to racial agitation, and showed itself in the Synods of both Provinces. It is not easy to interest the friends of Foreign Missions in a field that has become Christian, and now requires the same sort of organization and teaching as the Church at home, but of all the tasks the Moravians have to do abroad, this is perhaps the most important, though the least showy, to build up a strong, self-sustaining and self-propagating Church in the West Indies.

Close to them, practically identical with them in life and aim, lies the little Province of Demerara. A cheery, progressive Church is being built up there, whose development in the last 25 years has been pleasant to watch, and altogether notable, since it is the only field which is managed entirely by a native ministry and laity.

Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, which adjoins it on the east, has become the most comprehensive enterprise of the Moravian Church, because by far the larger part of the population is under her care. Here is the Old Mission among the black people of the towns, with all the equipment and organizations of an institutional church. Side by side with it is the Plantation Mission, with the Bush Mission beyond that in the forest villages along the great rivers. There is a Coolie Mission among the British Indians,

and a Mission to the Javans, who have been brought over in large numbers of late years. There is a Leper Colony. There is a Children's Home. A large business establishment, which sprang out of the first endeavours of the early missionaries to earn their own living, not only helps to support the Mission, but also assists various philanthropic undertakings. Four languages are necessary for the carrying on of the work. There are numerous schools, and a college for the training of teachers and native ministers. It was inevitable that such a complicated organism should suffer many things when the highways of the world were blocked by war, and its being in neutral territory could not save it. Among the miracles of Providence can be reckoned this, that the work of this Mission was carried on unhindered through the last eight years, when men in some cases could not have been replaced if they had been taken away.

There were times when Nicaragua caused those in authority the gravest anxiety; but, when American influence became dominant in the country, the fact that the Mission was under American control removed some of the most acute difficulties. As seems to be the case so often among the Indians, the time of trial was a time of religious revival. Year by year the number of baptisms of heathens and of confirmations increased. The movement culminated in the baptism of 129 souls at Sang Sangta in 1921. The door stands wide open in Nicaragua and Honduras; the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few.

The Indian Mission in California has added a small infirmary to its other ministrations to the remnant of the red race. Its watchword is "Disinterested Service."

Alaska has been out of the hurly-burly, and has learnt the first lessons in self-help. For this purpose

its Eskimos had to learn how to elect a committee, and were taught a lesson that Europeans picked up by experience long ago, that unanimity is seldom possible, and that, when it is unattainable, a majority suffices for sensible folk. This also is a fruit of the Spirit.

Labrador, remote as it seems, suffered with the rest of the world. The price of its products, especially oil and furs, rose enormously, and this seeming prosperity fed the desire for luxury there, as elsewhere. Then came three disasters in successive years. The influenza epidemic (1919), which swept round the world, reached Okak and Hebron. When it passed, Okak was almost without inhabitant, and the population of Hebron had been reduced to seventy. The tragedy was also an economic blow, since so many hunters and fishers had been carried off in a land that depends on them for those necessaries of life, which are imported yearly in exchange for their furs and fish and oil. The next year (1920) the ice formed round the coast unusually early, and the *Harmony* was not able to reach even Hopedale and Nain on her last trip, so that all the next winter there was a lack of many things she should have landed, and the Mission was once more impoverished by her failure to carry to St. John's and London the cargoes awaiting her. In 1921, when the founding of the Mission 150 years ago had just been celebrated, Nain, the oldest station, was destroyed by fire in 3½ hours, and such losses were sustained that the Church's mission policy all over the world was affected by them. It was even doubtful for a time whether the *Harmony* could be equipped for another voyage, or would have to be sold. But without her the northern part of the coast at least would have to abandoned. The generous response to the appeal for help made it possible to venture to send the *Harmony* out once more in 1922, though it was still a venture of faith, for less than half the actual losses

were covered by what was subscribed, and the Board had to trust to daily manna to supply the needs of those committed to its care.

Courage, simplicity, unselfishness, loyalty to Christ, and promptness for service are the characteristics of the great missionary, and of all communities that seek to mould themselves by his example. These have been the marks of Moravian Missions, wherever they have been true to type. For nearly two hundred years, in spite of human weakness and blindness, the missionaries have maintained this standard on the whole, humbly seeking to be faithful in that which is least, shunning the spectacular, and influencing the ideals of the Church at home. He who reads the record, and reflects on all the influences that have streamed out into the world from so humble a source, will say :—

> This is the Lord's doing ;
> It is marvellous in our eyes.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. GENERAL HISTORIES.

ADOLF SCHULZE: *Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission* (1901). An indispensable text-book; contains an almost exhaustive bibliography.

J. T. HAMILTON: *A History of Moravian Missions in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1901). The story told briefly in periods.

E. A. SENFT: *Les Missions Moraves* (1890). A good sketch up to 1890.

A. SCHULTZE: *Die Missionsfelder der Erneuerten Brüder-Kirche* (1890). An American book; good popular sketch.

JOHN BECK HOLMES: *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren* (1827).

F. L. KÖLBING: *Übersicht der Missions-Geschichte der Evangelischen Brüder-Kirche in ihrem ersten Jahrhundert* (1832).

DAVID CRANZ: *History of the Renewed Moravian Church* (1771). (English Translation.)

J. G. HEGNER: *Fortsetzung von David Cranzens Brüder-Historie* (1791-1816). Useful.

A. C. THOMPSON: *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures* (1882).

EUGEN REICHEL: *Rückblick auf unsere* 150 *jährige Missions-Arbeit* (1882). Of exceptional value.

TH. C. BECHLER: *Vor hundert Jahren und Heut* (1900). Contains useful statistics.

2. PERIODICALS.

1. *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren.* A quarterly magazine, founded 1790. In thirty-six bound volumes, from 1790 to 1894. Contains:
   - (*a*) Extracts from missionaries' diaries and letters.
   - (*b*) Many autobiographies.
   - (*c*) Editors' prefaces.
   - (*d*) Statistical and financial tables.
2. *Missions-Blatt aus der Brüdergemeine* (founded 1837). Monthly Magazine. In bound volumes, to 1906. Fuller than *Periodical Accounts.*
3. *Moravian Missions* (founded 1903). Illustrated popular monthly.

4. *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (1874). Edited by Gustav Warneck. Contains several important articles on Moravian work.
5. *Der Brüder-Bote* (1862).
6. *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine* (1819-1894).
7. *Aus Nord und Süd* (1900). Juvenile.
8. *Kampf und Sieg* (1906).
9. *Journal de l'Unité des Frères* (1835).
10. *The Little Missionary* (American). (1871).
11. *Der Missions-Freund* (American). (1889).
12. *Travel and Exploration* (see July, 1910).
13. *Jewish Intelligencer* (see 1857).

3. THE VARIOUS FIELDS.

1. THE WEST INDIES.

C. G. A. OLDENDORP: *Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder auf den Caraibischen Inseln St. Thomas, St. Croix, und St. Jan* (1777).

A. VON DEWITZ: *In Dänisch-West-Indien* (1899).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Friedrich Martin* (1901).

J. H. BUCHNER: *The Moravians in Jamaica* (1859).

HARK AND WESTPHAL: *The Breaking of the Dawn* (1904).

2. GREENLAND.

DAVID CRANZ: *History of Greenland* (1770)

F. L. KÖLBING: *Grönland* (1832).

GUIDO BURKHARDT: *Grönland* (1897). (In Missions-Stunden).

JESSE PAGE: *Amid Greenland Snows.*

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Hansina Hinz* (1897). (English Edition). (1901).

R. GYSIN: *Grönländische Bilder* (1899). (Kleine Traktate Series.)

J. BRODBECK: *Nach Osten* (1882).

3. LABRADOR.

F. L. KÖLBING: *Labrador* (1832).

J. W. DAVEY: *The Fall of Torngak; or The Moravian Mission on the Coast of Labrador* (1905).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Eine Weihnachts-Feier in Labrador* (1901).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Prinz Pamiok und sein Vater* (1900).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Der Schlimme Salomo* (1900).

H. KLUGE: *Christfest in Hebron.* (A Tract.)

H. KLUGE: *Drei Kurze Geschichten.* (A Tract.)

A. VON DEWITZ: *An der Küste Labradors* (1899).

TH. C. BECHLER: *Typhus-Epidemie in Nain* (1901).

S. K. HUTTON: *Among the Eskimos of Labrador* (1912). By far the fullest account of Eskimo life.

S. K. HUTTON: *By Eskimo Dog Sled and Kayak* (1919).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Die Ermordung Erhardts.*

4. NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

G. H. LOSKIEL: *History of the Missions of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America* (1794. English Edition).

EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ: *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger* (1871).

H. RÖMER: *Die Indianer und ihr Freund David Zeisberger* (1890).

RICE: *David Zeisberger and his Brown Brethren* (1897).

5. SURINAM.

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Paramaribo* (1891).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Die Buschneger Surinames* (1893).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Sopal, ein Indischer Kuli in Suriname* (1893).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Ein Junger, ein Alter* (1891).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Zweimal gehenkt* (1896).

H. KLUGE: *Besuch auf Groot Chatillon.*

TH. C. BECHLER: *Dienende Liebe* (1901).

K. F. LEDDERHOSE: *Die Mission unter den Arawakken* (1847).

F. STÄHELIN: *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice.*

K. F. LEDDERHOSE: *Die Mission unter den freien Buschnegern in Suriname* (1876).

6. SOUTH AFRICA.

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Gnadenthal* (Part I. 1892). (Too Anti-Boer in tendency.)

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Ein Missionar als Feld-Prediger* (1893).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *H. P. Hallbeck im Kaplande.*

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Am Xentu* (1900).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Moravian Hill, ein Gotteswerk im Kaplande* (1887).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Auf der Flucht.*

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Stephen Prins.* (English Edition.)

GUIDO BURKHARDT: *Süd-Afrika.* (In Missions-Stunden.)

CHARLES BUCHNER: *Acht Monate in Süd-Afrika* (1894).

K. F. LEDDERHOSE: *Das Büchlein von den Hottentoten und ihrem ersten Apostel G. Schmidt* (1849).

TH. REICHELT: *Geschichte der Missions-Station Silo* (1878).

J. DU PLESSIS: *History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (1911).

DUDLEY KIDD: *The Essential Kaffir* (1904).

C. I. LA TROBE: *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1815-16).

JAMES LA TROBE: *Self-Devotedness in the Service of Christ; or The Leper Hospital in South Africa* (1865).

E. VAN CALKER: *Die Grantstationen in Süd-Afrika.*

7. THE MOSKITO COAST.

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Moskito* (1899).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Die Erweckung auf der Moskito-Küste* (1888).

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Kaisa!*

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Ramah Key* (1896).
H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Quamwatla.*
A. SCHULZE: *Moskito.* (In Missions-Stunden.)

8. VICTORIA.

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Brüder-Mission in Australien* (1882).
ANONYMOUS: *Willie Wimmera.*

9. NORTH QUEENSLAND.

ARTHUR WARD: *The Miracle of Mapoon* (1908).
H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Mapoon* (1898).
F. H. L. PATON: *Glimpses of Mapoon, etc.*

10. THE HIMALAYAS.

H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Ein Missionsbild aus dem Westlichen Himalaya* (1880).
ARTHUR WARD: *Working and Waiting for Tibet.* (A translation, with additions, of Schneider's work.)
G. T. REICHELT: *Die Himalaya Mission* (1896).
S. RIBBACH: *An den Grenzen Tibets.*
SCHREVE: *Einer säet, der andere erntet.*
A. H. FRANCKE: *History of Western Tibet* (1907).

11. NYASSA AND UNYAMWEZI.

J. T. HAMILTON: *Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyassa Land* (1912)
G. BURKHARDT: *Deutsch-Ostafrika, Nyassa-Gebiet.* (In Missions Stunden.)
H. KLUGE: *Am Fusz des Rungwe-Berges.*

12. ALASKA.

J. T. HAMILTON: *The Beginnings of the Moravian Mission in Alaska* (1890).
H. G. SCHNEIDER: *Alaska.* (In Missions-Stunden.)

13. CALIFORNIA.

E. DE SCHWEINITZ BRUNNER: *A History of the Moravian Mission to the Indians of Southern California.*

14. WORK AMONG LEPERS.

E. A. SENFT: 75 *Années parmi les Lépreux* (1894).

15. THE JEWS.

GUSTAV DALMAN: *Graf Zinzendorf und die Juden* (1889).
A. SCHULZE: *Samuel Lieberkühns Leben und Wirken* (1894).
(The two above works are issued in one volume, under the general title, *Zinzendorf und Lieberkükn.*)
BECKER-SHAWE: *S. Lieberkühns Missions-Methode und ihre Gegner* (1888).

16. EAST INDIES.

HÄNSEL: *Letters on the Nicobar Islands* (1812).

17. EGYPT.

TH. C. BECHLER: *Die Arbeit der Brüdergemeine unter den Kopten in Aegypten.* (In Alle Welt Series, No. 8.)

4. OFFICIAL REPORTS.

1. *Reports of Mission Board to the General Synod.*
2. *General Synodal Results.*
3. *Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.* (Of Special value for Alaska and California.)
4. *Annual and Quarterly Reports of the London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions.*
5. *Annual Reports of the Leper Home at Jerusalem.*

5. OTHER SOURCES.

1. *Büdingsche Sammlungen*: A printed collection, in three volumes, of eighteenth century diaries, letters, essays and official documents; of supreme value for the early history.
2. ZINZENDORF'S: *Freiwillige-Nachlese.* Includes several original sources of value.
3. H. ROY: *Zinzendorfs Anweisungen für die Missions-Arbeit* (1893).

STATISTICS.

1. SOME POINTS OF INTEREST.

1. During the years 1732-40, the Moravians sent out 68 missionaries.
2. In 1800 the number of Moravian missionaries serving, not counting wives, was 90; in all other Protestant Churches combined it was only about 30.
3. In 1850 the number of Moravian missionaries was 130; the number of other Protestant missionaries 1,500.
4. In 1900 the number of Moravian missionaries was 186; the number of other Protestant missionaries 6,300. In 1800, therefore, the Moravians excelled others at the rate of three to one; in 1900 they had only one in thirty-five.
5. On the other hand, in proportion to the size of the Home Provinces, the number of Moravian missionaries is exceptionally large. At the close of 1910 the numbers were as follows:—Communicants, 28,710; Ordained Missionaries, 150; Unordained, 52; *i.e.*,

a proportion of one in 144. If the missionaries' wives are added (176) the total number of missionaries is 378; *i.e.*, a proportion of one in 75.

2. STATE OF THE MISSION AT ZINZENDORF'S DEATH, 1760.

At the close of the year 1760, *i.e.*, after only twenty-eight years' work, the Moravian Church had sent out no fewer than 226 missionaries, and the general situation in the foreign field was as follows:—

	Stations.	Missionaries.	Baptized.	Communicants.
Greenland ...	2	9	521	200
Indians ...	2	4	600(?)	(?)
Jamaica ...	2	7	80	(?)
St. Thomas ...	2	11	1,600	700
St. Croix ...	1			(?)
Antigua ...	1	2	6	(?)
Surinam ...	3	16	250	
TOTAL ...	13	49	3,057	Over 900

3. STATE OF THE MISSION IN 1792, WHEN THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY WAS FOUNDED.

Fields.	Missionaries.	Baptized.
St. Thomas	29	2,483
St. Croix		3,669
St. Jan		838
Antigua	11	6,038
St. Kitts	5	147
Jamaica	6	315
Barbados	4	20
Surinam, etc.	18	300
Greenland	15	891
Labrador	25	63
Canada	6	148 (?)
South Africa	3	(?)
Tranquebar	15	(?)
	138	About 14,910

4. State of the Mission in 1848, *i.e.*, When the Modern Advance Began.

Provinces and Stations.	Date of Establishment.	Total in each Island or Colony.	Total under the several Governments.	National Numbers.
Danish West Indies.				
St. Thomas.				
New Herrnhut ...	1732			
*Town of St. Thomas ...	1843	2,298		
Niesky	1753			
St. Croix.				
Friedensthal	1754			
Friedensberg	1771	5,316	9,413	
Friedensfeld	1804			
St. Jan.				
Bethany	1754	1,799		
Emmaus	1782			
English West Indies.				
Antigua.				
St. John's	1756			
Gracehill	1774			
Gracebay	1797			
Newfield	1817	9,737		
Cedar-Hall	1822			
*Lebanon	1838			
*Gracefield	1840			
St. Kitts				
Basseterre	1777			
Bethesda	1820	4,193		
Bethel	1832			
*Estridge	1845			
Barbados.				
Sharon	1767			53,719 Negroes.
Mount Tabor	1825	3,702		
Bridgetown	1836			
*Clifton Hill	1841		32,154	
Jamaica.				
Fairfield	1823			
New Eden	1812			
Irwin Hill	1815			
New Carmel	1827			
New Fulneck	1830			
New Bethlehem ...	1833	12,997		
Beaufort	1834			
Bethany	1835			
*New Hope	1838			
*Nazareth	1838			
*Lititz	1839			
*Bethabara	1840			
Tobago.				
Montgomery	1827	1,525		
*Moriah	1842			
South America.				
Surinam.				
Paramaribo, Town ...	1776			
,, Plantations				
Charlottenburg ...	1835	12,152	12,152	
*Rust-en-Werk ...	1845			
*Salem	1840			
*Bambey	1841			

STATE OF THE MISSION IN 1848—*continued.*

Provinces and Stations.	Date of Establishment.	Total in each Island or Colony.	Total under the several Governments.	National Numbers.
North America.				
DELAWARES.				
New Fairfield	1792			
*Westfield	1838	450	450	450 Indians.
CHEROKEES.				
New Spring Place ...	1801			
*Canaan	1843			
Labrador.				
Nain	1771			
Okak	1776	1,185	1,185	1,185 Esquimaux
Hopedale	1782			
Hebron	1830			
Greenland.				
New Herrnhut ...	1733			
Lichtenfels	1758	1,976	1,976	1,976 Greenlanders
Lichtenau	1774			
Frederiksdal	1824			
South Africa.				
Genadendal	1792			
Groenekloof	1808			
Enon	1818			6,205 Hottentots
Elim	1824			536 Tambookies and Fingoos
Leper Hospital ...	1823	6,741	6,741	
Shiloh {Hottentots ... / Tambookies ...}	1828			
*Clarkson {Hottentots / Fingoos ...}	1839			
TOTALS ...		64,071	64,071	

*The stations to which an asterisk is affixed have been established since the Synod of 1836.

Of the above gross amount of Converts, and of Heathen receiving instruction from missionaries of the Brethren's Church, there are:—

Subjects of the British Crown ...	Negroes ...	32,154		
	Indians ...	216		
	Hottentots, etc.	6,741		
	Esquimaux ...	1,185		
				40,296
Crown of Denmark	Negroes ...	9,413		
	Greenlanders ...	1,976		
				11,389
Holland	Negroes ...			12,152
Residing in the United States, etc.	Indians ...			234
			TOTAL	64,071

5. STATE OF THE MISSION IN 1899, *i.e.*, AT THE GREAT FINANCIAL SYNOD.

	Stations.	Preaching Places.	Missionaries (Male).	Missionaries (Female).	Native Preachers.	National Helpers.	Communicants.	Baptized.	Day Schools.	Scholars.
1. Greenland	6	—	8	8	—	38	870	1,623	33	391
2. Labrador	6	—	18	17	—	51	484	1,284	5	199
3. Alaska	3	3	5	7	—	28	236	578	2	51
4. Indian Missions in Canada and California	4	—	6	6	—	16	150	264	(?)	(?)
5. Jamaica	20	6	12	12	7	339	7,393	17,002	75	8,107
6. St. Thomas and St. Jan ...	5	—	2	2	—	44	1,036	1,942	6	473
7. St. Croix	3	1	3	3	—	50	1,157	2,636	—	—
8. Antigua	8	4	4	3	3	102	2,980	7,169	13	2,187
9. St. Kitts	4	—	2	2	1	74	1,488	3,870	7	1,472
10. Barbados	4	1	1	1	2	70	1,589	3,737	18	2,722
11. Tobago and Trinidad ...	4	3	3	3	1	88	1,629	3,442	9	921
12. Nicaragua, Moskito Coast ...	13	3	15	15	2	80	940	4,921	15	811
13. Demerara	1	2	—	—	1	35	401	841	2	253
14. Surinam (Colony and Bush) ...	24	14	41	45	—	393	8,586	28,819	27	2,835
15. South Africa (West)	11	9	23	23	1	293	2,866	9,426	19	2,107
16. South Africa (East)	10	6	16	15	—	159	1,847	4,589	30	1,555
17. German East Africa, Nyassa	4	—	11	8	—	—	36	52	3	36
18. German E. Africa, Unyamwezi	1	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	(?)	(?)
19. Australia, Victoria	2	—	2	2	—	—	32	81	2	30
20. Australia, North Queensland	2	—	2	4	—	—	7	11	1	44
21. West Himalaya	3	2	9	11	—	3	37	84	11	210
	138	54	186	190	18	1,863	33,764	92,371	278	24,404

6. STATE OF THE MISSION, JUNE, 1914.

	Stations.	Preaching Places.	Missionaries (Male).	Missionaries (Female).	Native Preachers.	National Helpers.	Communicants.	Baptized.	Day Schools.	Scholars.
1. Labrador	6	1	13	13	—	44	508	1,235	8	193
2. Alaska	2	29	7	5	7	5	773	1,384	—	—
3. N'th Amer. Indians (California)	3	2	3	3	—	1	104	180	—	—
4. Jamaica	20	11	10	10	15	339	6,438	13,799	58	7,439
5. W. Indies–St. Thomas & St. Jan	3	4	3	2	1	44	978	2,346	8	576
6. St. Croix	3	—	2	2	1	39	953	2,069	—	—
7. St. Kitts	4	—	1	1	5	64	1,325	3,413	7	1,601
8. Antigua	9	3	4	3	9	90	2,708	6,970	11	2,969
9. Barbados	4	5	1	1	5	75	1,323	3,055	15	2,213
10. Tobago	3	5	2	2	1	54	1,549	3,939	9	1,458
11. Trinidad	4	3	1	—	3	36	402	942	3	493
12. St. Domingo	1	3	—	—	3		164	1,110	1	62
13. Nicaragua	15	71	12	10	9	142	1,600	6,194	11	813
14. Demerara	3	1	—	—	6	35	579	1,513	3	583
15. Surinam (Old Mission) ...	23	39	39	44	22	311	7,410	26,104	22	2,778
16. Surinam (New Mission) ...	8	19	4	4	4	77	264	2,340	11	310
17. South Africa (West)	11	20	16	17	10	262	3,749	12,731	22	2,139
18. South Africa (East)	12	149	16	16	10	277	3,204	8,728	48	3,159
19. East Central Africa (Nyassa)	9	1,175	20	21	—	134	892	1,955	166	7,931
20. E. Cent. Africa (Unyamwezi)	6	148	16	15	—	17	192	327	27	1,118
21. West Himalaya	4	1	10	11	—	10	80	156	7	134
22. Australia (N. Queensland) ...	3	1	3	4	—	3	43	116	3	229
	156	1,690	183	184	111	2,059	35,238	100,606	440	36,198

OFFICIAL VISITATIONS.

WEST INDIES.

1736 Spangenberg.
1739 Zinzendorf.
1742 D. Nitschmann.
1745 C. H. Rauch.
1749 Joh. v. Watteville.
1753 N. Seidel.
1755 C. H. Rauch.
1775 Martin Mack.
1779 Martin Mack.
1783-84 J. Lorez.
1797 J. R. Verbeek.
1823-24 J. H. L. Stobwasser.
1827 Christian Hüffell.
1840-41 J. Chr. Brentel.
1847 J. G. Herrmann and W. Mallalieu.
1858-59 L. Th. Reichel.
1862-63 C. A. Cunow and T. L. Badham.
1876-77 W. F. Bechler.
1887 B. Romig.
1890-91 B. Romig.
1907-8 J. T. Hamilton.

GREENLAND.

1740 Andrew Grassmann.
1752 J. v. Watteville.
1770 M. Sternberg.
1859 G. Reichel.

LABRADOR.

1773 P. E. Layritz.
1861 L. T. Reichel.
1876 L. T. Reichel.
1888 B. La Trobe.
1902 H. O. Essex.
1909 H. O. Essex.

NORTH AMERICA

1742. Zinzendorf.
1748 J. v. Watteville.
1771 C. Gregor and J. Lorez.
1780 A. Grube.
1807 C. v. Forestier.
1853 J. C. Jacobson and C. F. Seidel.
1854 J. G. Herrmann.
1858 G. F. Bahnson.
1866 F. Hagen.
1868 S. Wolle.
1872 E. A. v. Schweinitz and R. v. Schweinitz.
1879 E. Leibert.
1880 C. L. Rights and E. A. v. Schweinitz.
1881 E. A. v. Schweinitz.
1883 E. A. v. Schweinitz.
1886 A. Schultze and E. A. v. Schweinitz.
1895 C. Buchner and B. Romig.

SURINAM.

1755 N. Seidel.
1762-63 H. Andresen.
1790-91 S. Liebisch.
1835 P. F. Cürie.
1870 F. W. Kühn.
1896-97 O. Padel.
1901 C. Buchner.
1908 J. Hettasch.

DEMERARA.

1891 B. Romig. | 1896 O. Padel.

CALIFORNIA AND ALASKA.

1905 J. T. Hamilton.

CALIFORNIA.

1899 M. Leibert. | 1908 P. de Schweinitz.

ALASKA.

1891 H. T. Bachmann.

CANADA.

1899 J. T. Hamilton.

SOUTH AFRICA.

1815-16 C. I. La Trobe.
1853-54 J. C. Breutel
1865 F. W. Kühn.
1874 W. F. Bechler.
1882-83 F. W. Kühn.
1892-93 C. Buchner.
1911 H. Kluge.

EAST AFRICA.

1905-6 P. O. Hennig.

WEST HIMALAYA.

1901 B. La Trobe.

TRANQUEBAR.

1786. L. F. Reichel.

NICARAGUA.

1855 H. Wullschlägel. | 1890 B. Romig.

DICTIONARIES, GRAMMARS, TRANSLATIONS AND WORKS IN NATIVE LANGUAGES.

1. WEST INDIES.

1. *Harmony of the Gospels and Several Hymns*, translated into Creole.
2. *New Testament*, in Creole.

2. GREENLAND.

MATTHEW STACH: *Eskimo Grammar* and *Dictionary*.

The New Testament. Translation begun by JOHN BECK, finished by J. C. KLEINSCHMIDT (aided by two Native Helpers), and published (1823) by British and Foreign Bible Society.

SAMUEL KLEINSCHMIDT: *An Eskimo Grammar, Dictionary, General History, History of Missions, Geography*, and most of *Old Testament.*

OTHER MISSIONARIES: *Manual of Christian Doctrine, Hymn Book, Harmony of the Gospels, A Reader's Primer*, and Translations from the German *Nachrichten.*

3. LABRADOR.

1. VARIOUS MISSIONARIES: *The Passion History, Harmony of the Gospels, Manual of Doctrine, Hymn Book*, Extracts from Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, and *New Testament.* With the exception of the New Testament, which was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, these works were issued by the S.F.G.
2. A. ERDMANN: *Old Testament* (published 1871), *Catechism and Eskimo Dictionary* (1864).
3. TH. BOURQUIN: *Eskimo Grammar* (1890).
4. F. ELSNER: *Outline of Christian Doctrine, Book of Prayers.*
5. A. MARTIN: Various School Books, *Isaiah*, a new translation; *Biblical Questions and Answers.*
6. SCHMITT: *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress* (condensed translation, 1901).
7. WALTER PEBRETT: *Jessica's First Prayer* and *Christie's Old Organ* (1905).
8. SQUIRE TOWNLEY: *Free Church Catechism.*
9. MAGAZINE: *Aglait Illunainortut* (Everybody's Magazine). Issued annually since 1902.
10. Miscellaneous Tracts, Sermons, Collection of Hymns, and Confirmation Manuals.

4. NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

DAVID ZEISBERGER: *A Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book*, with Appendix containing the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Scripture Passages and Litany (1776); *Collection of Hymns for the use of Christian Indians* (1803). *Spangenberg's Sermons to Children* (in Delaware, 1803); *Spangenberg's Bodily Care of Children* (1803); *Lieberkühn's Harmony of the Gospels; Grammatical Treatise on the Delaware Conjugations* (printed 1821); *German and Delaware Lexicon* (MS. only); *Delaware Grammar* (MS. only); *Onondaga Grammar* (MS. only); *German-Delaware Lexicon* (MS. only); *Sermons in Delaware* (MS. only); *Delaware Litany* (MS. only); *Delaware Biblical Narratives* (MS. only); *Delaware and Maqua Vocabulary* (MS. only).

5. SURINAM.

1. SOLOMON SOHUMANN: *Arawak Grammar and Lexicon.*
2. VARIOUS (in Negro-English): *Outline of Jesus' Teaching; Passion History; Negro-English Dictionary; Spangenberg's Idea Fidei Fratrum; New Testament* (published 1830 by British and Foreign Bible Society); *Hymn Book; Text Book* (Annual); *Luther's Catechism; Book on Church Festivals; The Calw Church History; Singing Book; A.B.C. Book; Tracts; Moravian Law Book; Whitsun Day and Ascension Litany; Liturgy vo Pinatem; Pinawicki.*

NOTE.—In compliance with instructions issued by the Dutch Government, the other Moravian publications are issued in Dutch, and therefore, though useful for their purpose, they cannot be placed in this list.

6. THE MOSKITO COAST.

1. G. GRUNEWALD: Barth's *Bible Stories, Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.*
2. H. ZIOCK: *English-Moskito and Moskito-English Dictionary.*
   A. H. K. BERCKENHAGEN: *A Moskito Grammar and Dictionary* (1894); *Moskito Reading Book* (1899); *A Hundred Stories from the Old Testament* (1905); *English-Moskito-Spanish Phrases* (1905); *Moskito-English-Spanish Dictionary* (1906).

7. ALASKA.

VARIOUS: *Hymns in the Eskimo Language.*

8. SOUTH AFRICA, WEST: THE HOTTENTOTS.

As the services were generally held in Dutch, no translations into Hottentot seem to have been made, and no Hottentot Dictionary or Grammar was published.

9. SOUTH AFRICA, EAST: THE KAFFIR.

A. BONATZ: *Kaffir Grammar, Passion History, and Church Litany.*
VARIOUS: *Kaffir Hymn Book; Catechism for Baptismal Candidates; Catechism for Communion Candidates; Biblical History; Rules and Regulations; Tonic Sol-fa Singing Book* (1899-1908).
W. BOURQUIN: *On Kaffir Adverbs, etc.* (1912).

10. WESTERN TIBET.

1. H. A. JÄSCHKE: *Harmony of the Gospels; Litany; Hymn Book; Catechism; Geography; Church History; Tibetan Grammar* (1865); *Romanized Tibetan and English Dictionary* (1866); *Conversation Book in Tibetan, Urdu, and Hindi* (1867); *Introduction to the Hindi and Urdu Languages* (1867); *English-*

Tibetan Dictionary (1871); *Treatise on Tibetan Dialects; New Testament (except Hebrews and Revelation)*, (1880).

2. A. W. HEYDE: *Tibetan Arithmetic; View of the World; Beck's Manual of Doctrine.*
3. F. A. REDSLOB: *Hebrews and Revelation.*
4. A. H. FRANCKE: *Studies in Bunan, Tinan, Manchat and Ladaki; St. Mark in Bunan* (aided by Zodpa); *St. Mark in Ladaki; St. Mark in Manchat* (aided by Zodpa); *Ladakskyi agbar* (Quarterly paper) 1904.
5. J. BRUSKE: *St. Mark in Kanauri; Studies in Kanauri.*
6. VARIOUS: *New Testament; Parts of Old Testament; Hymn Books, School Books, Catechisms.*

11. NYASSA.

1. MORAVIANS AND BERLIN SOCIETY: *Hymn Book in Konde Dialect* (1905).
2. O. GEMUSEUS: *Konde Primer* (1910).
3. J. BACHMANN: *Nyika Primer; New Testament* (1913); *Stories from Old Testament* (1913).
4. VARIOUS: *Translations of* 13 *Psalms; Matthew, Mark, Luke, Revelation* (parts); *Passion History, Old Testament Extracts, Hymns, Litanies, Catechisms, Primers, and Collection of Native Words.*

12. UNYAMWEZI.

1. RUDOLPH STERN: *Hymns in Kinyamwezi; Kinyamwezi Grammar; Fifty Stories from the Kingdom of God; New Testament.*
2. E. DAHL: *Kinyamwezi Primer; Kinyamwezi Sounds and Accents; Kinyamwezi Dictionary.*
3. M. H. LÖBNER: *Stories from the New Testament; Catechism.*
4. VARIOUS: *Psalms; Bible Stories; Manual of Doctrine; Native Stories; Hymn Book.*

13. CALMUCKS.

ISAAC SOHMIDT: *The Gospels*, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society (1815).

THE FIRST FRUITS.

(Original Painting at Herrnhut; copy at Zeist, Holland.)

1. GULG OF SCHAMACHIE: A Persian. Died at Herrnhaag in the Wetterau.
2. THOMAS MAMUCHE: From Riga. Died at Herrnhaag.
3. SAMUEL KAYARNAK: The first Greenlander. See p. 71 (June 2nd, 1738).

4. SAM: An Anakunka from Boston, in New England; found by Zinzendorf in St. Eustace, and sent to St. Thomas; buried at New Herrnhut.
5. GRIBY ZEDMANN: An Armenian girl from Schamaski.
6. THOMAS: The first convert from the Hurons.
7. GRATIA: A Negro little girl. Died at Herrnhaag.
8. RACHEL: A Mulatto from St. John.
9. ANNA MARIA: The baby in arms. Daughter of Freundlich, Frederick Martin's colleague.
10. CATHERINA: A gipsy girl. Died at Herrnhaag.
11. OLY CARMEL: A Negro boy brought by Leonard Dober from St. Thomas; baptized at Herrnhut, and died there a year later.
12. JUPITER: A Negro from New York. Brought by David Nitschmann to Herrnhut.
13. ANNA MARIA: Died at Herrnhaag.
14. MICHAEL: Baby in arms. Born in Silesia; died at Marienborn.
15. HANNAH: A Negro widow. Died at Herrnhut.
16. ANDREW: The first convert, *i.e.*, in St. Thomas.
17. JOHN = TSCHOOP: Rauch's famous Mohican convert. See p. 86.
18. JOHN THE NEGRO: Became a teacher at Marienborn.
19. FRANCESCO OF FLORIDA: Drowned in a river in Surinam.
20. POCCO: Baby in arms: Born in Berbice, and died at Marienborn.
21. KYBODO: Hottentot, baptized by George Schmidt.
22. RUTH: A Mohican from Shekomeko.

ERRATA.

TEXT.

pp. 5 and 13; for 'Linica' read 'Sinica.'
pp. 36, 48f, 231, 509; for 'St. John' read 'St. Jan.'
p. 58; for 'speakly' read 'speaking.'
p. 58; for 'Christian V.' read 'Frederick IV.'
p. 69, last line; for 'of' read 'on.'
p. 73, line 32; for 'on' read 'in."
p. 84, line 12; for 'shrubly' read 'shrubby.'
p. 121; for 'Kaffemakas' read 'Koffimakas.'
p. 144; for 'Kapick' read 'Kapik.'
p. 147; for 'Berleborg' read 'Berleburg.'
p. 176; for 'Frederick VI.' read 'Christian VI.'
p. 228; 'English in the West Indies,' Second Edition, 1888.
p. 236; for 'Warnow' read 'Warmow.'
p. 244; for 'Baele' read 'Balle.'
p. 248; for 'territory' read 'Territory.'
p. 248, line 25; for 'Oochgelmy' read 'Oochgelogy.'
p. 254; for 'Great' read 'Groot.'
pp. 256, 257; for 'Cotica' read 'Cottica.'
pp. 257, 258; delete 'In spite of their—represented by images.'
pp. 276, 487; for 'Gruenekloof' read 'Groenekloof.'
p. 276, Note; for 'He was afterwards' read 'He had been Lt. Governor of South Australia, and Governor of New Zealand.'
p. 281, line 25; for 'were Moravian' read 'were or became Moravian.'
p. 283; before 'Mission Land Act' insert 'the.'
pp. 288, 293; for 'Entazana' read 'Entwanazana.'
p. 294, line 27; read 'found himself.'
p. 303; for 'June' read 'July or August.'
p. 332, line 24; read 'Jürgensen.'
p. 346, line 18; for 'arrived at' read 'set out for.'
p. 352; 'Ramahyuck' = Our Ramah = Ramah, our Home.
pp. 357, 489; for 'Gutzlaff' read 'Gützlaff.'
p. 357; for 'Rampoor' read 'Rampur.'
p. 358, line 13; for 'Chinese' read 'Tibetan.'
p. 360; for 'Barths'' read 'Barth's.'
p. 360, last line; for 'nex' read 'next.'
p. 361, line 7; after 'Hebrews' add 'and Revelation.'
p. 365, Note; after 'see' insert '"Ladakhi Songs" quoted in'
p. 366, Note; for 'Percival' read 'Perceval.'
p. 371, line 27; for 'river' read 'rivers.'
pp. 374, 384; for 'Gopat' read 'Gobat.'
p. 379; for 'Cholmogran' read 'Chaulmoogra.'
p. 384, line 16; for 'Turkish Government' read 'lepers.'
NOTE.—In opening the shelter at Siloah the Turks meant no harm to our Leper Home.
p. 416, line 12; insert after 'men' 'for a mission in Queensland.'
pp. 416, 419, 420; for '1890' read '1891.'
p. 426, line 12; for '1891' read '1892.'
p. 432, line 5; for 'ship' read 'boat.'
p. 443; for 'ancesters' read 'ancestors.'
p. 446, line 18; for '5th' read '7th.'
p. 454, line 20; for 'Usake' read 'Usoke.'
p. 457, line 4; for 'Medier' read 'Meier.'
p. 483, line 17; for 'Western' read 'Eastern.'

p. 484; for 'Hanzina' read 'Hansina.'
p. 487; for 'Freemantle' read 'Fremantle.'
p. 489; for 'Waldenberg' read 'Waldenburg.'
p. 490; for 'Pemell' read 'Pennell.'
p. 491, line 25; for 'then' read 'than.'
p. 492, read 'Livingstonia.'
p. 492, line 30; for 'two delegates' read 'one delegate.'
p. 492, line 31; after 'Synod' add 'each Province also sending an elected delegate.'
p. 495, line 18; for 'twenty-five' read 'eighteen.'
p. 496, line 3; for 'pre-reformation' read 'seventeenth century.'
p. 500, line 8; for 'several' read 'most.'
p. 525, line 16; 'Grassmann,' elsewhere spelt 'Grassman'; better 'Grasmann.'

INDEX.

Read 'Pennell.'
Read 'Rampur.'
Read 'Saghalin.
Read 'Schnabel.'
Read 'St. Jan' for 'St. John.'
Read 'Tübingen.'
Read 'Waldenburg.'
Read 'Warmow.'
Read 'Witkleibosch.'

INDEX.

The names of ships and printed works are in italics.
f = *and following page.* ff = *and following two pages.*

Aborigines of Victoria, The, Brough Smith's, 349.
Abraham, Rabbi, 147f.
Abyssinia, 161, 202.
Account of Moravian Missions, Spangenberg's, 189, 194, 196.
Acts of Parliament, 96, 177, 216, 218, 232, 282f.
Adams, Sir Thomas, 133.
Adelaide, 428.
Adolph, 23.
Africa, Central, 219, 490.
Africa, East Central, 437-458, 492f, 496, 504, 508.
Africa, South, 10, 126-130, 190f, 193, 201, 266-299, 473, 478, 480ff, 484f, 487, 492f, 496, 499, 501f. 508f.
Aglait Illunainortut, 314.
Airy, Mt., Jamaica, 213.
Akiak, Alaska, 403, 497.
Akiatshuak, Alaska, 403.
Alaska, 394-407, 465, 473, 484, 489f, 497, 499f, 504, 511.
Alaska Commercial Company, 394.
Alaska Help Society, 486.
Albany, 95, 102.
Albatross, The, 418f.
Albert, Prince, 349.
Albina, Surinam, 257.
Aleppo, 160.
Alexander, 34.
Alexander, Arthur, 322.
Alexander I., Czar of Russia, 160.
Algiers, 157, 175, 201, 489.
Alleghanies, The, 97.
Alleghany, The, 104.
Allen, Fort, 101.
Amelia, Princess, 26.
America, North, 78-116, 170, 188, 193, 199, 201f, 246-249, 401, 470, 473, 484f, 499.
America, South, 117-120, 202.
American Province, 375, 394, 463f, 488, 504, 511.
Amity, The, 136, 301.
Among the Eskimos of Labrador, Dr. Hutton's, 310.
Among the Lepers in Surinam, 255.
Amsterdam, 45, 117, 126, 130, 148f, 152f, 157.
Andaman Islands, 489.
Angegoks, 58, 64f, 70, 133, 139f, 143f.
Angerman, 55.
Anglicans, 350, 355, 391, 486f, 501f.
Anholm, Marie, 490.
Antes, John, 162f.
Antigua, 50, 53f, 56, 193, 199f, 232f, 480, 489f.
Antoinette of Nicaragua, 332.
Apologetics, A. B. Bruce's, 152.
Appel, Home Secretary, 436.
Arabi, 123f.
Arabia, 162.
Arabs, The, 381, 385, 444f, 507.
Arawack Indians, Surinam, 11, 117-120, 188.
Archer River, 435.
Argentine, 489f.
Arthington, Robert, 489.
At Home and Abroad, 154.
Augsburg Confession, 179.
August Gottlieb Spangenberg, 168.
Auka Negroes, 121, 257.
Aurora, Surinam, 256.
Aurukun, North Queensland, 435.
Australia, 346, 353, 355, 416, 502, 506.
Australia and New Zealand, Trollope's, 346.
Austria, 500, 503.

Balle, 244.
Baffin's Land, 490.
Bagdad, 160.
Bailey Hill, Antigua, 53.
Balgobin, Samuel, 258.
Balls River, 57.
Baltic Provinces, 12, 503.
Bambey, Surinam, 124.

Banning, California, 409, 413.
Bantus, The, 439, 456.
Baptist Missionary Society, 3, 199, 201.
Baptists, 487.
Barbados, 50, 54, 56, 193, 199, 233, 388f.
Barham, John Foster, 50f.
Barkley, Sir Henry, 350.
Barnett, W., 490.
Baschera, Michael, 164.
Basel Missionary Society, 201, 219.
Bashahr, 358, 362.
Basseterre, St. Kitts, 55f.
Basuto War, 294.
Batavia River, 418, 429.
Bath, 486.
Baudert, Samuel, 294.
Bautzen, Saxony, 23.
Baviansklof (Glen of Baboons), Cape Colony, 129f, 267, 269, 272-276.
Bawa Baer, Nicaragua, 330.
Baziya, Tembuland, 288, 293, 295.
Beaufort, Duchess of, 487.
Beaufort, Jamaica, 211, 217.
Beaver River, 106.
Beck, Jacob, 237.
Beck, John, 11, 68, 70f, 73, 181, 237.
Becker, Bernhard, 13.
Beekhuizen, Surinam, 255.
Behnesse, 164.
Behr, 155.
Behring Sea, 394, 397.
Belgium, 503.
Belize, British Honduras, 322.
Belmont, Trinidad, 234.
Bengal, 165, 188, 202.
Benigna, 91.
Benjamin of Nicaragua, 332.
Bennett, John, 55f.
Bentien, 23.
Berbice, 170.
Berea, South Africa, 281.
Bergendal, Surinam, 256.
Berleburg, 147.
Berlin, 159, 311, 383, 477.
Berlin Discourses, Zinzendorf's, 129, 164.
Berlin Missionary Society, 438, 458, 502.
Bersaba, Surinam, 255.
Bertha, Sister, 387.
Berthelsdorf, Saxony, 9, 12.
Beterverwachting, Demerara, 390, 392.
Bethabara, Jamaica, 217.
Bethabara, North Carolina, 77.
Bethany, Jamaica, 217.
Bethany, Nicaragua, 330.
Bethany, St. Jan, 48, 231.
Bethel, Alaska, 395, 397-403, 405f.
Bethel, St. Kitts, 231.
Bethel Star, The, 395.
Bethesda, Hlubiland, 288.
Bethesda, St. Kitts, 231.
Bethesda, Surinam, 254f.
Bethesda, Tobago, 234.
Bethlehem Home Missionary Society, 249.
Bethlehem, Pa., 81f, 86, 93, 96, 99, 101ff, 111, 170, 394, 399, 498.
Beverhout, 37.
Bible, John Beck's, 70.
Bielke, 259.
Birkby, James, 199.
Black River, Jamaica, 51, 207, 220.
Black River, Nicaragua, 321, 344.
Black Swamp, 112.
Blackwood's Magazine, 234, 344.
Blair, Peter, 329f, 334f.
Bloice, J. A. D., 235.
Blood and Wounds Theology, Zinzendorf's, 72, 118, 181, 272.
Blood-bath of Gnadenhütten, 113.
Blue Mountains, 91, 109.
Bluefields, Nicaragua, 321-325, 329, 331, 335f, 339f, 342, 344.
Bodily Care of Children, Spangenberg's, 115.
Boer War, 298, 499.
Boers, The, 266f, 270, 274, 280, 282f.
Boga, Lake, 346, 349f.
Bogue, The, 51.
Bohemia, 158, 375, 477.
Böhler, Peter, 91, 198.
Bohlmann, 244.
Böhnisch, Frederick, 10, 59, 68, 70f, 237.
Bombay, 379.
Bonatz, 290.
Borcherd, 273.
Born, Pastor, 41ff, 45.
Bo's'n, 419.
Boston, 490.
Boswell's Johnson, 178.
Bowana, Kaffir Chief, 289f, 296.
Bradley, 428.
Brain, Miss, 3.
Branagan, James, 199.
Brasen, Dr. Christopher, 23, 136.
Braun, Peter, 53f, 189, 200, 232.
Brazil, 393, 489.
Brethren's Society for the Spread of the Gospel, 189.

Bridgetown, Barbados, 55, 233.
Brisbane, 417, 428.
Bristol, 481, 486.
British and Foreign Bible Society, 159, 227, 238, 391.
British Columbia, 490.
British East Africa, 452.
British Honduras, 321f, 344, 489f, 511.
British Province, 463f.
Broadleaf, Jamaica, 227.
Brodbeck, John, 237.
Brodersen, 23.
Brookshaw, Benjamin, 55, 199.
Brotherly Agreement, The, 12.
Brown, Edwin, 435.
Brown, John, 199.
Brown Bank, Nicaragua, 329.
Bruce, A. B., 152.
Brüder-Bote, 66.
Bryce, Viscount, 406.
Buccus, 391.
Buchner, John Henry, 220-225.
Buckley, John, 232.
Buddhists, 159, 358, 366.
Büdingsche Sammlungen, 20.
Buffalo, 255.
Bull, Rev. John, 486.
Bundali, 439, 448.
Burckhardt, Christian, 139.
Burkhardt, Guido, 120, 167, 484.
Burgsdorf, Aunt of Zinzendorf, 6.
Bush Negroes, 121-125, 176, 250, 256f, 326, 478, 484, 499, 510.
Bussals, 31.
Buxton, Fowell, 213.
Buxton Grove, Antigua, 232.

Cairo, 161ff.
Calcutta, 357.
Caledon, Lord, 191, 276.
California, 408-415, 466, 473, 489, 497, 504, 511.
Callenberg, 150.
Calmucks, The, 159, 202.
Cambridge History of American Literature, 408.
Cambridge Modern History, 477.
Cameron, Mrs. Daniel, 354.
Cammerhof, Bishop, 96ff.
Canajoharie, 95.
Candace Souls, 148, 155, 161, 183, 193.
Canon Bank, Nicaragua, 329.
Cape Chidley, 300.
Cape Colony, 288-293.
Cape Farewell, 236, 245.
Cape Gracias-a-Dios, 321, 336, 344.
Cape Town, 126, 129, 191, 266f, 270, 272-276, 278f, 286f.
Carey, William, 3, 198f, 201.
Caribbean Sea, 321, 345.
Caribs, The, 326.
Caries, George, 50ff, 199.
Carisbrook, Jamaica, 227.
Caritas, The, 61, 65f, 174.
Carmel, Alaska, 403.
Carmelites, 160f.
Carolus, F., Native Helper, 244.
Carpentaria, Gulf of, 428.
Carstens, 33, 37, 39, 176.
Castell, 146.
Catechism for the Heathen, Zinzendorf's, 179.
Catharina Sophia, Surinam, 255.
Cathcart, South Africa, 293.
Catherine II., Empress of Russia, 156, 159.
Caucasus, The, 164.
Cayuga, Lake, 97f.
Cayugas, The, 91.
Cedar Hall, Antigua, 232.
Cennick, John, 51, 500.
Ceylon, 157, 201.
Chaguanas, Trinidad, 234.
Chalmers, Dr., 303.
Chamber of Seventeen, 126, 177, 266f.
Chambers' Journal, 312.
Chaplin, Dr., 374, 378.
Charles, Eskimo Boy, 66f.
Charles of Prussia, 322.
Charlottenburg, Surinam, 255.
Chase, Canon, 350ff, 417.
Chateau Bay, Labrador, 142f.
Cherokees, The, 78-81, 248f.
Chicago, 311f.
China, 175, 357, 489f.
Chinese, The, 257f, 404, 490.
Chini, Western Tibet, 358.
Chompel, 366.
Christian VI., King of Denmark, 15, 41, 45, 59f, 73, 176.
Christian VII., King of Denmark, 49.
Christie, British Consul, 323.
Christy's Old Organ, 314.
Church, Samuel, 199.
Church, S. F., 199.
C.M.S., 201, 300, 357, 458, 463 487, 490, 497, 502, 507.
Church of England Messenger, 346.
Circassia, 489.
Clarkson, 195.
Clarkson, South Africa, 281.

Classis, The, 130.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 325, 345.
Clemens, T. L., 234.
Clevia, Surinam, 255.
Clifford, Sir Hugh, 234.
Clifton, Jamaica, 226.
Clifton Hill, Barbados, 233.
Clinton, Governor, 95.
Coast and Inland, 502.
Coermatibo River, 121.
Coke, Dr., 198.
Cole, Sir Tony, 276.
Colombo, 157.
Colonisation of Africa, Sir H. H. Johnston's, 438.
Colorado Desert, 409.
Combé, Surinam, 252.
Comenius, John Amos, 14, 391.
Commewijne River, 259.
Conference System, 193.
Congo, 489, 508.
Conkras, The, 326.
Constantinople, 157f, 161, 201.
Continental Province, 463f, 503f.
Cook, 423f.
Cooktown, Australia, 417.
Coolies, The, 250, 257f, 391, 510.
Cooper, Fenimore, 85f.
Cooper, Mrs., 212.
Copenhagen, 15, 23f, 26f, 29, 37, 40, 45, 57, 59f, 65, 67, 173, 242.
Copenkrisi, Surinam, 257.
Coppename River, 121, 256.
Copts, The, 161f, 164.
Coral Bay, 36.
Corentyne River, 119.
Cornelius, Native Helper, 49.
Coromandel Coast, 5, 164, 202.
Cossart, Henry, 161.
Cottica River, 121, 256f.
Council of Policy, 126f.
Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, 487.
Covenant of the Three Brethren, 68.
Cowper, William, 237.
Craddock, Sir John, 276.
Craig, General, 276.
Cranz, David, 194.
Creed, Dr., 354.
Creoles, 31, 324, 334.
Crichton, J. W., 490.
Cröger, E. W., 167.
Cromlin, Governor, 121.
Cruse, The, Jamaica, 212.
Cuba, 509.
Cullen Point, 421.
Cumberland Inlet, 236, 489.
Cummings Lodge, 391.
Curtis, Lieutenant, 138.
Cyril, 158.
Czecho-Slovakia, 503.
Czechs, The, 477, 500.

Dähne, Louis Christopher, 11, 119, 175.
Daily Mail, 303, 436.
Dakura, Nicaragua, 336, 338.
Dale, R. W., 152.
Dallas-Clarendon Treaty, 345.
Dalman, Dr., 152, 381.
Dalton, Dr., 490.
Daniel, Henry, 29.
Danish College of Missions, 5, 59f, 67, 181.
Danish Missionaries, 131, 242ff, 329, 508.
Danish State Church, 243.
Danke, John Henry, 162, 164.
Dar-es-Salam, 457.
Davey, J. W., 164, 484.
David, Christian, 10, 59f, 65f, 68, 117.
Dead Sea, 383.
Deborah of Labrador, 143.
Deep Sea Mission, 309, 312.
Dehm, 23.
Delaware River, 102.
Delawares, 83, 102-111, 115, 182, 246f, 395, 398.
Delbo, C., 413.
Demerara, 117, 388-393, 465, 473, 489, 510.
Demole, Pastor, 489.
Denmark, 12f, 15, 23f, 26, 41, 45, 332, 486.
Derryarnish, 432.
Detroit, 111f.
Deycke, Dr., 379.
Dickie, The, 418.
Dickson, William, 214.
Dingwall, John, 391f, 500.
Disko, Greenland, 72.
Divinity of Our Lord, The, Liddon's, 151.
Dober, Jamaica, 227.
Dober, Leonard, 11f, 16-19, 21-24, 26f, 29, 34-38, 57, 59, 131, 148, 173, 175, 178, 181, 463, 495.
Domburg, Surinam, 255.
Dominica, 490.
Dominicans, 161.
Douglas, Hon. John, 418, 427f.
Downs, Mary, 334f.
Doyle, Arthur Conan, 354.

Drachart, Lawrence, 23, 133-136, 186, 301.
Drakensberge, 296.
Dresden, 4, 9, 147.
Dresden Socrates, The, 147.
Drummond, Henry, 440.
Dry Salt Lake, 409.
Dublin, 477.
Ducie River, 427.
Duncan, Jane Ellen, 365, 373.
Dundee, 236, 489.
Dungeon, 423.
Dutch Auxiliary Society, 189, 195.
Dutch East India Company, 126f, 177, 181.
Dutch Reformed Church, 30, 41, 127, 157, 182, 250, 502.
Dutch Trading Company, 117.
Dutchess County, 83.
Duyfhen Point, 432.

East India Company, 5.
East Indies, 4f.
East London, South Africa, 293.
Eastern Counties Clerical Association, 501.
Ebenezer, Australia, 346, 350ff, 355.
Economy, at Bethlehem, 82.
Ecuador, 489.
Edinburgh, 303, 436, 501.
Edinburgh Association, 478, 486.
Edkins, Pastor, 489.
Edward VII., 498.
Edwards, William, 199.
Egede, Hans, 20, 57-61, 65ff, 69, 71, 174.
Egerton, Sir Walter, 393.
Egypt, 162ff, 202.
Einsler, Dr., 378ff, 383.
Elias, 288, 294f, 484.
Elim, Cape Colony, 281, 485.
Elim, Jamaica, 51.
Eller, Dr., 157, 172.
Elliott, Captain, 112.
Ellis, Bishop F., 338.
Ellis, John, 208, 210-213, 216f.
Ellis, Trapp, 77.
Elmina, 156.
Elukolweni, Hlubiland, 288, 297.
Emancipation, 213, 216f, 230f, 281.
Embley River, 435.
Emmaus, St. John, 49, 231.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 185.
England, 12, 20, 109f, 198, 218, 225, 272, 304, 342, 374f, 388, 420, 463, 470, 480f, 484ff, 488f, 504, 507.
English Aborigines Protection Society, 489.
English Bank, Nicaragua, 325, 329.
English in the West Indies, Froude's, 228f.
English Malady, The, 178.
Engotini, Cape Colony, 288.
Enon, Cape Colony, 281, 290.
Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, Carey's, 198.
Entwanazana, Tembuland, 288, 293.
Entumasi, Hlubiland, 288, 297.
Ephraim, Surinam, 119.
Ephrata, Nicaragua, 330, 337.
Erdmann, Friedrich, 316.
Erdmuth Dorothea, 9.
Erhardt, John Christian, 131, 307.
Eskimo Dictionary, Erdmann's, 316.
Eskimos, 57f, 60-65, 131-145, 176, 186, 188, 300-316, 394-407, 497f, 512.
Eskimos about Behring Strait, The, Nelson's, 397.
Estrada, General, 343.
Estridge, St. Kitts, 231.
Ethiopian Church, 284.
Evening Prayer, Zinzendorf's, 91.
Ezincuka, Hlubiland, 288, 296ff.

Fabricius, George, 100.
Faden, Nicholas, 258.
Fairfield, Canada, 246.
Fairfield, Jamaica, 210-216, 219f, 223-226, 391, 481f.
Fall of Torngak, Davey's, 484.
Fawcett, 322.
Feder, Albin, 46, 172.
Ferdinand, Archduke, 495, 503.
Fiabarema, 446.
Finances, 176, 189, 304f, 469, 478, 484-491.
Fingoos, The, 277.
First Berlin Mission, 492.
First Fruits Idea, 183, 192f.
Fliegel, 237.
Florida, 490.
Folk Lore in the Old Testament, Frazer's, 397, 456.
Ford, 420.
Fort Allen, 101.
Foster, William, 50f.
Fox Channel, 490.
Fozzard, John, 55, 199.
France, 500, 507.
Francis of Demerara, 391.
Francke, A. H., 361, 365.

Francke, August Hermann, 5ff, 9, 14, 174.
Franklin, Benjamin, 101, 301.
Frazer, Sir J. G., 397, 456.
Frech, Theobald, 136.
Frederick IV., 58.
Frederick V., King of Denmark, 177.
Frederiksdal, Greenland, 236.
Fremantle, Dean, 487.
Freiwillige Nachlese, 153.
Freundlich, 42.
Frey, 98.
Friedensberg, St. Croix, 49, 231.
Friedensfeld, St. Croix, 231.
Friedenshütten, North America, 103ff.
Friedenstadt, North America, 106.
Friedensthal, St. Croix, 48, 231.
Froude, James Anthony, 228f.
Fulneck, Jamaica, 214, 225f.
Fulneck School, 195.

Gaarde, 508.
Galizas, General, 340.
Gambier, Admiral, 300.
Ganassatico, King, 96.
Ganges River, 357.
Gansee, Surinam, 256.
Gardelin, Governor, 35.
Gardiner, 50, 55.
Garland, Canon, 435.
Garrison, Captain, 185.
Garth, Mrs., 330.
Gekelemukpechunck, Ohio, 106.
Gelelemend, 398.
Genadendal, South Africa, 269, 276-279, 281, 284, 286, 289f, 478, 481, 484f, 502.
George II., 76.
George III., 109, 133, 136.
George Frederick, King of Moskito, 323.
Georgetown, Demerara, 391.
Georgia, 78-81, 198, 246, 248.
Gerard, 37.
German East Africa, 437f, 456, 466.
German Nyassaland, 438.
Germany, 486, 488, 500, 503ff.
Geschichte der Erneuerten Brüderkirche, 168.
Gingee, Surinam, 256.
Gladstone, Mrs., 487.
Glad Tidings, 88.
Glasgow Auxiliary Society, 478, 486.
Glasgow Missionary Society, 201.
Glikkikan, 106, 114.
Gnadenhütten, on the Mahony, 95, 99, 101f, 105, 186.
Gnadenhütten, Ohio, 108, 112f, 115.
Gobat, Bishop, 374, 384.
Godhaab, Greenland, 59, 61, 67, 236.
Goedverwacht, South Africa, 281.
Good Intent, The, 301.
Good Message, The, 484.
Gorke, John, 237.
Görlitz, 17.
Goshen, Cape Colony, 288, 293.
Goshen, Ohio, 115f, 246.
Goshgoschunck, Ohio, 104ff.
Gottwalt, 55.
Grabenstein, 175.
Grabow, Brandenburg, 11.
Gracebay, Antigua, 56.
Gracefield, Antigua, 232.
Gracehill, Antigua, 53, 56.
Gradin, Arvid, 158, 160f, 172.
Graham's Hall, Demerara, 388ff, 392.
Gralisch, 164.
Grant of Demerara, 391.
Grant System, The, 277, 281f, 289, 292f.
Grassman, Andrew, 72f, 155f, 170.
Great Britain, 257, 321f, 325, 344f, 478, 503f.
Great War, The, 177, 393, 406, 450, 458, 493, 502f.
Greek Church, 158, 160, 165, 377, 385, 394, 400, 404, 501.
Green, Edmund, 211.
Greenbay, Antigua, 232.
Greenland, 10ff, 17, 20, 23, 57-77, 79, 118, 131, 134, 137, 144, 170, 174f, 177, 185, 188, 191, 193, 201f, 236-245, 397, 399, 465, 473, 479f, 482, 499f.
Greenlanders, 9, 19, 236-245 (see also Eskimos).
Gregson, Gelson, 490.
Grenfell, Dr. W. T., 309f, 316.
Grey, Sir George, 276, 293, 346, 499.
Greytown, Nicaragua, 321, 330, 344.
Griffith, Sir Samuel, 417.
Grillich, John, 237.
Groenekloof, South Africa, 276, 487.
Groot Chatillon, Surinam, 254f.
Gross-Hennersdorf, Saxony, 4f.
Grossmann, 343.
Grothausen, Dr., 27.
Gruhl, 164.
Grünbeck, Esther, 153.
Grundler, 5, 7f.
Grunewald, G., 329, 343.
Guinea, 156, 201.
Gützlaff, Dr., 357, 489.

Haberecht, Gottlieb, 51.
Hagenauer, Frederick Augustus, 350, 352, 354f, 416, 499.
Haidt, 183.
Half-penny Union, 486.
Hall, Robert, 214.
Hall, Samuel, 337.
Hall, William, 214.
Hallbeck, Hans Peter, 280, 484, 500.
Halle, 6ff, 24, 126.
Haller, John, 261f, 265.
Hamilton, 50, 55.
Hamilton, Bishop J. T., 14, 437.
Hanover, 162.
Hänsel, John Gotfried, 165.
Hansina Hinz, Schneider's, 484.
Hardie, A., 416, 418.
Harmony, The, 301ff, 307f, 512.
Harmony of the Gospels, Lieberkühn's, 115, 154.
Hartmann, Adolphus, 248, 394.
Hartmann, Mrs., 256.
Harvard University, 116.
Harvey, Bennett, 54.
Hassan, 162.
Hassé, Bishop E. R., 501.
Hassé, Otto William, 153.
Hauck's Real-Encyclopædie, 167.
Hausmann. Pastor, 489.
Haven, Jens, 23, 131-134, 136, 141, 301, 484, 500.
Hayti, 490.
Heber, Dr., 364, 371.
Hebron, Labrador, 300, 308, 310, 512.
Hebron, Palestine, 382.
Heckewelder, John, 112f.
Heckmondwike, 225.
Hector, The, 302.
Heerendyke, Holland, 117.
Heerendyke, Surinam, 255.
Hegner, J. R., 194.
Heilitz, Inspector, 353.
Heinze, Christian, 237.
Helena, 268f, 275.
Heller, 23.
Helpers' Conference, 471.
Hemel-en-Aarde, 276, 284f, 374.
Henry, 37.
Herr, 55.
Herrmann, 162f.
Herrnhaag, 74, 500.
Herrnhut, Saxony, 10f, 13f, 16, 19f, 22ff, 26, 28, 34, 37ff, 45-48, 59f, 65, 76, 78, 98, 119, 126, 129, 131, 142, 147, 156f, 161, 170f, 183f, 186, 193, 198, 266, 323, 357, 470, 480, 483, 503.
Hettasch, Paul, 310.
Hey, Nicholas, 416-421, 425ff, 429 435, 499, 506.
Hey, Mrs., 431f, 506.
Heyde, Augustus William, 357, 361f, 366, 370.
Heyde, H. B., 261f, 264.
Hibbert Journal, 20.
Hill, Rowland, 54, 200, 487.
Hillsborough, Lord, 134.
Hindoos, The, 362, 391.
Hinz, John, 397.
Hirschberg, Synod at, 167.
Hirschel, Zechariah, 158f.
History of Christian Missions, Robinson's, 55.
History of Christian Missions in South Africa, du Plessis', 273.
History of Evangelical Missions in the East, Francke's, 6.
History of Greenland, Cranz's, 194.
History of Pietism, Ritschl's, 7.
History of Protestant Missions, Warneck's, 186.
History of the L.M.S., Horne's, 201.
History of the Mission in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, Oldendorp's, 194.
History of the Mission to the North American Indians, Loskiel's, 194.
History of the Moravian Church, Cranz's, 194.
History of the Moravian Church, Hegner's, 194.
Hlubiland, South Africa, 288, 295-299, 438.
Hocker, Christian Frederick William, 160ff, 164, 172.
Hogg, Ethel M., 388.
Hogg, Major, 291.
Hogg, Quintin, 388f, 391, 489.
Holland, 117, 126, 254f, 257, 266f, 272, 274, 276, 486, 500.
Honey, Dr., 284f.
Hooker, Native Helper, 400.
Hoop (or Hope), Surinam, 120, 190.
Hopedale, Labrador, 139, 144f, 300, 310f, 512.
Horne, Rev. C. Silvester, 201.
Horsham, Australia, 351.
Hottentots, The, 126-130, 266-287, 291f, 481, 499.
Huckoff, Henry, 156.
Hudson's Bay Company, 311.
Huesco River, 345.
Huguenots, 30.
Hungary, 12, 500.

Huron, 114.
Hutt, Major, 346, 489.
Hutton, A. B., 234.
Hutton, Dr. S. K., 310f, 313, 315.
Hutton, Mrs., 310.
Hutton, James, 131, 134, 140.

Ibrahim, 164.
Idea Fidei Fratrum, Spangenberg's, 267.
Igdlorpait, Greenland, 236, 244.
Ileya, Nyassa, 448.
Immortality, Heathen ideas of, 85, 129, 328, 348, 356, 398, 425, 442, 455f.
In Distant Heathen Lands, 484.
Independents, 487.
Indian Territory, U.S.A., 248f, 408, 411.
Indians, Moskito, 321-345.
Indians, North American, 10, 52, 78-116, 170, 176, 186, 191, 246-249, 408-415, 484, 498.
Indians, South American, 117-120, 510f.
Indus Valley, 507.
Inleesha, 164.
Institutum Judaicum, Callenberg's, 150.
Instructions for Brethren and Sisters, Spangenberg's, 475.
Instructions to Missionaries, Zinzendorf's, 78, 175, 178, 182.
Ipiana, Nyassa, 448, 450f.
Ipole, Unyamwezi, 454.
Ipswich, Jamaica, 227.
Ireland, 500.
Irene, The, 76, 185.
Iroquois, The, 83, 91-103.
Irwin, Major, 346.
Irwin Hill, Jamaica, 210, 214, 220.
Isles, Samuel, 53, 199.
Isoko, Nyassa, 448, 450f.
Ispahan, 160.
Israel, Gottlieb, 46ff, 118, 181, 186, 188.
Iversen, Jorgen, Governor, 30.

J. G. Ward, The, 436.
Jablonsky, Daniel Ernest, 79, 169.
Jackman, 50, 55.
Jackson, Captain, 303.
Jackson, Dr. Sheldon, 394, 403, 489.
Jackson, Helen Hunt, 408.
Jackson, Joseph, 199, 208.
Jaergenson, 238.
Jalla, Louis, 490.
Jamaica, 46, 50ff, 56, 89, 188, 193, 198f, 207-230, 232, 321ff, 335, 340, 344, 355, 480-483, 486, 498, 509.
Jamaica Courant, 215.
Jamaica in 1801, Lady Nugent's, 208.
James of Nicaragua, 332.
Janie of Alaska, 402.
Japan, 490.
Japanese, The, 404.
Jardine River, 427.
Jäschke, Andrew, 158.
Jäschke, Henry Augustus, 360ff.
Javanese, The, 257, 259, 510.
Jedda, 162.
Jemima, The, 302.
Jensen, Stephen, 23, 134, 136, 301.
Jeremiah of Okak, 313.
Jersey Packet, The, 134, 301.
Jerusalem (Leper Home), 255, 286, 355, 374-387, 473, 489, 504, 507.
Jessica's First Prayer, 314.
Jesuits, 13, 161.
Jews, The, 146-155, 183f, 201, 250.
Jimmy of Mapoon, 433.
Johannesburg, South Africa, 293, 490.
John, John F., 199.
Johnson, Dr., 134, 194.
Johnston, Sir Harry H., 438.
Joppa, 383.
Jordan Valley, 382.
Joseph, Rabbi, 154.
Julienhaab, 244.
Jürgensen, Jean Paul, 23, 329, 331ff.
Jürgensen, Mrs., 332f.
Juvenile Missionary Association, 225, 485.

Kabagomato, Chief, 453.
Kaestner, Louis, 309.
Kaffir Wars, 278, 298, 499.
Kaffirs, 288-299, 478, 484, 490, 499.
Kaffraria, 276, 298, 508.
Kaimanston, Surinam, 257.
Kalatse, Western Tibet, 358f.
Kanahooka, The, 428.
Kandler, 330.
Kanjek, Greenland, 72.
Kansas, 248.
Kant, Lydia, 364.
Kapik, 144.
Karaites, 149.
Karata, Nicaragua, 330, 336.
Kashgar, 489.

Kaskan, 362.
Kaswika, Chief, 457.
Kayarnak, 70ff, 188, 237, 399.
Keffenbrink-Ascheraden, Baroness, 374f, 489.
Kersten & Co., 250, 253, 259f, 469, 478, 485.
Kettering, 3, 201.
Kidd, Benjamin, 354.
Kilbuck, John Henry, 395, 398-401, 500.
Kilbuck, Mrs., 396, 399.
Killinek, Labrador, 300, 305, 312.
Kim, Kipling's, 368.
King, John, 256.
Kingspoint, Eskimo Bay, 135.
Kingston, Jamaica, 198, 219, 227.
Kingston Chronicle, 215.
King Williamstown, South Africa, 293.
Kipembabwe, Unyamwezi, 454.
Kipling, Rudyard, 368.
Kirchhof, David, 153.
Kirman, 161.
Kitunda, Unyamwezi, 454.
Kleinschmidt, John, 190, 238.
Kleinschmidt, Samuel, 238, 242.
Klipplaat River, 288.
Kluge, H., 484.
Klukumlaya, Nicaragua, 329.
Koffimaka Negroes, 121, 256.
Koffykamp, Surinam, 256.
Kohlmeister, 190.
Kondeland, 438f, 444f, 448.
Königsberg, Baden, 481.
Königseer, Sophia, 237.
Kopperamanna, Lake, 355.
Krakau, Daniel, 437, 466.
Kramer, 355.
Kranich, John F., 237.
Kreusano, 155.
Kühnel, John Christian, 267, 273.
Kukulaya, Nicaragua, 330.
Kulu Valley, 507.
Kunawar, 362.
Kund, Michael, 159.
Kunewalde, Moravia, 10.
Kurban, Kasis Farhud, 386f.
Kurdistan, 490.
Kurds, The, 160f.
Kuskokwim River, 395, 404.
Küster, 286.
Kwattahede, Surinam, 256.
Kybodo, 272.
Kyelang, Western Tibet, 358-362, 507.
Kyimbila, Nyassa, 448.
Labrador, 23, 76, 131-145, 186, 188-191, 193, 199, 201f, 300-316, 374, 395ff, 473, 478, 480, 482, 484, 496-499, 512.
Labrador Doctor, A, Grenfell's, 316.
Ladak, 357f, 360, 362.
Ladak News, The, 361.
Ladies' Associations, 486.
Ladies' Negro Education Society, 212.
Lahoul, 358.
La Jolla, California, 410, 415.
Lake, General, 489.
Lamas, 358ff, 363, 366-373.
Lamington, Lord, 435.
Lamp, 490.
Lancaster, Jamaica, 51.
Landon, Perceval, 366.
Lang, John, 207-210.
Lange, Conrad, 159-175.
L'Anse Noir, Trinidad, 234.
Lapland, 12f, 17, 155f, 201.
Laplanders, 9, 19, 155.
Last of the Mohicans, The, Cooper's, 86.
La Trobe, Benjamin, 194.
La Trobe, Bishop Benjamin, 308, 495.
La Trobe, Bishop James, 374f.
La Trobe, Christian Ignatius, 54, 189f, 195ff, 200f, 281, 289, 300, 487.
La Trobe, Joseph, 346.
Laughton, Captain, 489.
Laurwig, Count, 15f.
Layasiksa, Nicaragua, 330.
Leach, William, 486.
League of Help, 497.
Lebanon, Antigua, 232.
Leeds, 489.
Leh, Western Tibet, 357f, 363ff, 371f, 484.
Lehigh River, 81.
Leibnitz, 5, 13.
Leitner, Peter, 285.
Leliendal, Surinam, 255, 259.
Leominster, 486.
Lepers, 254f, 276, 284ff, 374-387, 451, 499, 502, 508, 510.
Letters on the Nicobar Islands, Hänsel's, 165.
Letters to my Children, La Trobe's, 195.
Leupold, Tobias, 16f, 19, 22, 38, 48.
Lewis, George, 208f.
Lhasa, 358, 362, 372.
Lhasa, Landon's, 366.
Libbey, J. N., 168.
Libya, 161.

Lichtenau, Greenland, 75, 236, 238, 244.
Lichtenau, Ohio, 108, 111.
Lichtenfels, Greenland, 75, 236, 238.
Liddon, Canon, 151.
Lieberkühn, Samuel, 115, 149-152, 154.
Lier, Hesperus Ritzman van, 266.
Life of David Livingstone, 430.
Life of Willie Wimmera, 352.
Light, James, 214.
Lincoln, Abraham, 258.
Lindsay House, Chelsea, 140.
Lipscombe, Bishop, 215.
Lisqer, Christian, 136, 199.
Lititz, Jamaica, 211, 217, 226.
Little Tracts, Kluge's, 484.
Little Whetstone, 401.
Living Christ and the Four Gospels, Dale's, 152.
Livingstone College, 310.
Livingstone Hills, 438.
Livingstonia Mission, 492.
Livonia, 160, 202.
Löbschutz, Upper Silesia, 11.
Löhans, Valentine, 43f.
Löhans, Mrs., 43.
London, 4, 8, 55, 76, 78, 96, 131, 133f, 137, 140, 146, 168, 178, 302ff, 347, 388, 485f, 504, 512.
London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions, 212, 223, 486f.
London Medical Mission, 490.
London Missionary Society, 54, 199ff, 452f, 463, 489, 492.
London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 154.
Lorenzen, 29, 37.
Los Angeles, 409, 412.
Loskiel, George Henry, 194.
Lot, Use of, 15, 21, 38, 93, 120, 162, 168, 172f, 190f, 476.
Louis, Native Helper, 238.
Louis XVI., King of France, 301.
Ludidi, 297.
Luna, Dr., 342f.
Lutherans, 9, 11, 19, 22, 24, 30, 183, 250, 501f.
Lütken, Dr., 5.

Macartney, Lord, 276.
MacDonald, Colonel, 321, 344.
MacGregor, Sir William, 311, 499.
Machiwishilusing, Pa., 103.
Mack, John Martin, 49, 79, 95, 112.
Mackay of Uganda, 437, 489.
Magazines, Missionary, 194f, 390, 392, 475f, 502.
Magdala, Nicaragua, 329f, 334ff.
Magdalene of St. Thomas, 44.
Magorugampell, Ceylon, 157.
Mahometans, 14, 164, 234, 250, 259, 287, 365, 377, 382, 384-388, 454, 457f, 497, 508.
Mahony, River, 95, 99.
Makkovik, Labrador, 300, 311.
Malabar, 126, 490.
Malays, 346.
Malone, 284.
Malta, 500.
Mamre, Cape Colony, 281, 485.
Managua, Treaty of, 345.
Manantial, Trinidad, 234.
Manchester, Parish of, Jamaica, 211.
Mandeville, Jamaica, 215.
Manittoes, 85.
Mankendorf, Moravia, 10.
Manners, Charlie, 423.
Manual of Doctrine, Beck's, 361.
Manzanilla, Trinidad, 234.
Mapasa, 290f.
Mapoon, North Queensland, 418, 420f, 423, 427ff, 431-436, 506.
Marienborn, 73, 148.
Maripastoon, Surinam, 256.
Maroni River, 121.
Maroons, 217.
Marriage Customs, 261-265, 326, 424, 440f.
Marshman, 199.
Marsveld, Henry, 267f, 271, 500.
Martha of Tibet, 366.
Martin, Augustus, 329f, 335.
Martin, Bishop, 314.
Martin, Frederick, 11, 38-46, 48f, 91, 95, 169, 176, 182, 186, 188, 484, 500.
Martin, George, 439.
Martinez, California, 409, 411f.
Martinique, 36.
Martins, 27.
Marx, Dr. Carl, 364, 372.
Matelot, Trinidad, 234.
Matilda, Princess, 324.
Matthiesen, 23.
Matuari Negroes, 256.
Maud of Mapoon, 506.
Maurice, Native Helper, 244.
Mawanda, 440, 448.
May Day Hills, Jamaica, 210.
Maynard, Constance, 20.
Mbozi, Nyassa, 448, 450.
McIntosh, General, 111.

Mecca, 162.
Medical Missions, 363f, 402f, 452.
Meier, 457.
Meissel, Gottlieb, 351, 355f.
Melbourne, 346, 349-353, 355, 416f, 428.
Meniolagomeka, 95.
Merere, 439, 444f.
Mesopotamia, 490, 505.
Mesopotamia, Jamaica, 208, 214.
Messenger of Peace, The, 330.
Messenger, Moravian, 375.
Meta, The, 342.
Metcalf, John, 199.
Methodists, 487, 501.
Methodius, 158.
Meyer, Henry, 288, 296f, 438.
Meyer, Theodore, 438f, 444.
Meyer, Mrs., 445.
Meyer's Pass, 297.
Mico Institution, 219, 489.
Middleton, Lady, 195.
Middleton, Sir Charles, 195.
Mieksch, 156.
Mikak, 140.
Miller, James, 211.
Mingo, 43.
Miracle of Mapoon, Ward's, 428, 484.
Mission Board, 211, 218, 232, 242, 263ff, 308, 322, 325, 339, 352f, 357, 374, 388f, 416, 437, 463, 465-471, 491f, 495, 497, 504f.
Mission College, 470, 480f, 494.
Missionary Studies, Burkhardt's, 484.
Missions-Blatt, 470, 476.
Mite Association, 485.
Mizpah, Jamaica, 227.
Mkulwe, 456.
Mohawks, 85, 91, 95, 102.
Mohicans, 81-90.
Mongolia, 357, 489.
Monteith, Archibald, 208.
Montgomery, James, 30, 55, 199.
Montgomery, John, 55, 199.
Montgomery, Tobago, 234.
Montserrat, 489.
Moody, D. L., 388.
Moore, Henry, 389ff.
Moravia, 9-12, 43, 59, 65, 79, 126, 158,
Moravia, Jamaica, 227.
Moravian Hill, South Africa, 287.
Moravian Hope, South Africa, 287.
Moravian Missionary Society, Jamaica, 486.
Moravian Missions, 228, 233, 392.
Morgan, Colonel, 108.
Moriah, Tobago, 234.
Morongo, Captain John, 409, 414.
Morton, John Thomas, 490f.
Mt. Graybok, 409.
Mt. Tabor, Barbados, 233.
Moscow, 159.
Moses of Labrador, 143.
Moskito Coast, 23, 321ff, 325f, 332, 334, 339ff, 344f, 355, 479, 484, 489, 499.
Moule, H. C. G., 487.
Mueia, Nyassa, 448.
Mulattoes, 31.
Mulgrave, Earl, 215.
Müller, Dr., of Vienna, 361.
Müller, Dr. J. T., 167, 377.
Müller, Dr. Max, 361.
Müller, Elizabeth, 377.
Müller, Fritz, 376-379.
Müller, J., 237.
Münchroth, Würtemberg, 11.
Murkkikandi, 443.
Muskingum, 108.
Muskito Bay, St. Thomas, 44.
Mvenyane, Hlubiland, 288, 299.
Myalism, 220ff, 226.

Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine, 194.
Nahoe, Jamaica, 226.
Nain, Labrador, 137f, 145, 300, 309f 313, 512.
Nain, Pa., 102.
Nakin, John, 297.
Napier, Sir George, 277.
Napoleonic Wars, 272, 475, 486.
Nathan, 309.
Nathaniel of Nain, 313.
Nathaniel of Tibet, 366.
Native Church Idea, 224, 261, 284 450, 491-494, 497, 509.
Native Helpers and Evangelists, 44, 214, 216, 234, 238, 241, 244, 256, 287, 293, 299, 307, 400f, 403, 406, 447, 449, 454, 492.
Native Ministers, 224, 227, 232, 235, 239, 243, 261, 297, 389, 479, 482f, 492.
Natural Reflections, Zinzendorf's, 7, 177.
Nazareth, Pa., 81f.
Negro School Fund, 212.
Neisser, Joseph, 10, 136, 142.
Nelson, E. W., 397.
Netawetwes, 106, 109f.
Neumeister, 9.
New Account of Guinea and the Slave Trade, Snelgrave's, 195.

New England Society, 87.
New Bambey, Surinam, 124.
New Bethlehem, Jamaica, 211.
New Carmel, Jamaica, 51, 56, 211, 213f, 225.
New Eden, Jamaica, 210f, 214f.
New Fairfield, Canada, 115, 246-249.
New Gnadenhütten, North America, 114f.
New Herrnhut, Greenland, 61, 69f, 74f, 236, 238.
New Herrnhut, St. Thomas, 39, 44, 230.
New Holland, 475.
New Hope, Jamaica, 217, 226.
New Salem, North America, 114f.
New Springplace, Georgia, 248.
New York, 56, 83, 85, 94ff, 101, 185, 255.
New Zealand, 276, 346.
Newby, Joseph, 199.
Newfield, Antigua, 232.
Newfoundland, 131, 301, 311.
Newton, Jamaica, 210, 221.
Nicaragua, 321-345, 465, 473, 496f, 504, 511.
Nicaragua, Lake, 321.
Nickerie, Surinam, 255.
Nicobar Islands, 165f, 202, 490.
Nicodemus of Tibet, 366.
Niesky, St. Thomas, 49, 230.
Niesky, Silesia, 130, 478, 481.
Nile, River, 164.
Nitschmann, David, 22, 25-28, 33f, 40, 43, 79f, 157, 169f, 173, 186, 198.
Nitschmann, John, 155.
Nitschmann, Martin, 99.
Nitschmann, Mrs., 99.
Nitschmanns, The, 10.
Noailles, Cardinal, 8.
Noel, Lady, 487.
Nordlyset, The, 244.
North, Goodwin, 225.
Northern Missionary Society, 201.
Northern Star, The, 310.
North-Schleswig Union, 486.
Norway, 500.
Nottingham, 198.
Novissima Sinica, Leibnitz's, 5, 13.
Nubra, 362.
Nugent, Lady, 208.
Nushagak River, 403.
Nxotchane, Hlubiland, 288.
Nyassa, 437-452, 454f, 465, 473, 489, 497, 508.
Nyassa, Lake, 437ff, 444, 453.
Nyika, 439, 448, 452.

Obeahism, 122f, 208, 220, 509.
Ockbrook School, 485.
Ogavik, Alaska, 401, 403.
Ogle's Industry, Demerara, 391.
O'Hara, James, 311.
Ohio, 83, 106f, 109ff, 115, 246.
Okak, Labrador, 139, 300, 305f, 310, 313f, 512.
Okeden, Parry, 435.
Old Carmel, Jamaica, 89, 207, 209ff.
Old Charley of Victoria, 351.
Oldendorp, G. A., 194.
Oneidas, 91, 93.
Onin, 246.
Onondaga, Pa., 96-99, 102, 104.
Onondagas, 91, 115.
Ontario, Lake, 83, 96.
Oochgeiogy, Georgia, 248.
Oonalaska, 394.
Oppelt, Mrs. Von, 489.
Order of the Mustard Seed, 8, 146.
Orkneys, The, 303, 505.
Orinoco, River, 118.
Ormond College, Missionary Society, 428.
Ornatti, The, 294.
Ossessi, Chief, 257.
Ostergren, 155.
Oxford, 361.

Pachgatgoch, 95.
Padel, Otto, 242.
Pagell, Edward, 357, 362ff, 366, 369.
Pagell, Mrs., 364.
Palermo, Sicily, 477.
Pallisser, Sir Hugh, 131ff, 140, 191.
Pall Mall Magazine, 315.
Palmerston, Lord, 322.
Papus, 276, 346-355, 416f, 419, 421, 423-435, 499.
Paramaribo, 117, 121, 188, 191, 250, 252ff, 257-261, 264, 484.
Paravicini, Consul, 157.
Paris, 311f, 477.
Partsch, George, 100.
Partsch, Mrs., 100.
Pastoral Letter, 142.
Patrick Town, Jamaica, 227.
Paulu, 366.
Payas, The, 326.
Peace of Paris, 101, 344.
Pearl Lagoon, Nicaragua, 325.
Peart, Robert, 209.
Pechanga, California, 410.

Peck, C. J., 490.
Pella, South Africa, 281.
Pemell, Mrs., 490.
Penn, William, 90.
Pennsylvania, 81, 83, 90, 93, 95, 101ff, 113, 498.
Pepper, Nathaniel, 350f.
Periodical Accounts, 3, 189f, 194ff, 198ff, 289, 297, 310, 316, 338, 397, 412, 475, 495.
Perl, St. Thomas, 44.
Perrens, Mrs. or Miss, 489.
Perry, Bishop of Melbourne, 346, 350.
Persia, 160, 202.
Peter of Labrador, 142.
Peter of St. Thomas, 44.
Peru, 490.
Peyster, Major, 112.
Pfeiffer, Henry Gottlieb, 215, 322-325.
Philadelphia, 102.
Philadelphia Philosophical Society, 116.
Pierson, Dr. A. T., 201.
Pietism, 3, 4, 11, 65.
Pilder, George, 161f.
Pilgerhut, 117.
Pilgerruh, 114f, 120.
Pilgrim, Alexander, 389.
Pilgrim's Progress, The, Bunyan's, 227, 314.
Piper, 334.
Pisani, 274f.
Pless, Count von, 25f, 48, 60.
Plessis, Dr. du, 273.
Plütschau, Henry, 5-8.
Poland, 503.
Pommerschwitz, Upper Silesia, 11, 38.
Pontiac War, 101f.
Poo, Western Tibet, 358f, 363ff, 369.
Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 286f.
Port of Spain, Trinidad, 234.
Porteous, Bishop of London, 195.
Porto Rico, 489.
Posaunenberg, St. Thomas, 39, 47.
Post, 95.
Potrero, California, 409, 412ff.
Potribo, Surinam, 255.
Powell, Joseph, 199.
Prague, 477.
Presbyterians, 350f, 353, 355, 394, 416, 435, 486f, 489, 502, 506.
Price, 216.
Prichard, Major Hesketh, 303, 312.
Priestley, 428.
Prince and Princess of Wales, 76.
Pringle, 279.
Prins, Stephen, 484.
Prochnow, 357.
Protten, Christian Jacob, 156.
Province Island, 102.
Pumpkin, 423f.

Quama, Surinam, 123.
Quamwatla, Nicaragua, 336ff.
Quebec, 112.
Queensland, North, 355, 416-436, 465, 469, 473, 484, 489, 499, 505.
Queenstown, Demerara, 391f.
Queenstown, South Africa, 293.
Quingillingok, Alaska, 403.
Quinhagak, Alaska, 404ff.
Quintin Hogg: a Biography, Ethel M. Hogg's, 388.
Quirpoint Harbour, 132.

Rabbinites, 149.
Ramah, Labrador, 300.
Ramah Indians, 326, 331ff.
Ramah Key, 326, 331f.
Ramah River, 345.
Ramahyuck, Victoria, 352-355, 416.
Ramona, Jackson's, 408.
Rampoor, 357.
Rasmus, Jens, 48.
Rauch, Christian Henry, 52, 85-90, 170, 181.
Reading, 352.
Red Sea, 162.
Redgauntlet, Scott's, 185.
Redslob, Frederick Adolphus, 361f, 366.
Regnier, Dr., 170, 172.
Reichel, Leonard, 338.
Reichel, Bishop John Frederick, 266.
Reichel, Eugene, 264, 488.
Reichel, Gerhard, 168.
Reigel, 244.
Reinke, Andrew, 322.
Reis, 219.
Reitapura, Nicaragua, 329.
Reliance, Demerara, 388f.
Renan, Ernest, 347.
Rephaim, 377.
Reports of the Brethren's Missions, 195.
Resolution, The, 302.
Retrospect of the Mission in Antigua, 189.
Rhenish Missionaries, 283.
Rhenius, Governor, 267.
Rhine, The, 172.
Rhodes, James, 136, 199.
Ribbach, Mrs., 364f.

Richard, Marc, 234, 500.
Richard, Theophilus, 438, 444.
Richmond, Legh, 487.
Richter, 435.
Richter, Abraham, 157.
Riebeck, Governor van, 127.
Rigolette, 311.
Rincon, California, 410, 415.
Ritschl, Albrecht, 7.
Rittmansberger, Andrew, 55.
Riverside, California, 413.
Robben Island, South Africa, 285f, 374.
Robert Charles Frederick, King of Moskito, 322.
Robert Clarence, King of Moskito, 340.
Roberts, Edward, 199.
Robinson, 55.
Robinson, S., 418.
Robinson Crusoe, Defoe's, 55, 117.
Roller, Dr., 162.
Roman Catholics, 158, 165, 250, 255, 340, 343, 345, 377, 414f, 432, 438, 501.
Romig, Benjamin, 339.
Romig, Dr. J. H., 403.
Ronneburg Castle, 147.
Roonjon, Surinam, 252.
Roosevelt, President, 255.
Rosehill, Trinidad, 234.
Roth, Dr., 432f.
Rothe, John Andrew, 9.
Roumania, 158.
Rüffer, Dr., 160f.
Rungwe, Nyassa, 438ff, 443-448, 451.
Russell, Samuel, 199.
Russia, 156, 158, 201, 292, 357, 394, 500, 503.
Rust-en-Vrede, Surinam, 252.
Rust-en-Werk, Surinam, 255.
Rutenganio, Nyassa, 448f, 451.
Ryle, Bishop J. C., 487.

Sachalin, 490.
Sachems, 98.
Sacred Songs and Solos, Sankey's, 425.
Salem, Jamaica, 211.
Salem, Ohio, 108, 112.
Salem, Surinam, 255.
Salich of Jerusalem, 379.
Salvation Army, 507.
Samoa, 276.
Samoyedes, 9, 156.
San Domingo, 235, 489, 509.
San Francisco, 394.
San Pedro, 235.
Sandusky, 113f.
Sandy Bay, Nicaragua, 336.
Sang Sangta, Nicaragua, 343, 511.
Sankey, 425.
Saramakka River, 119, 121, 256.
Saramakker Negroes, 121, 123, 256.
Sarepta, 159f.
Savannah, 78.
Savannah River, 81.
Saxony, 167.
Schäfer, Melchior, 17.
Schmidt, George, 10, 43, 126-130, 169, 174-177, 266ff, 271f, 279.
Schmidt, Isaac, 160.
Schmidt, Rasmus, 23, 256.
Schmitt, John Henry, 276.
Schneider, Daniel, 155.
Schneider, H. G., 483f.
Schneider, John, 136, 156.
Schneller, 55.
Schöchert, 404.
Scholefield, John, 213.
Schönberg-Waldenburg, Prince of, 322.
Schönbrunn, Ohio, 107f, 112, 114.
Schreve, 373.
Schubert, Karl, 376, 381, 385f.
Schumann, Theophilus Solomon, 11, 117-120, 124, 172, 181, 188.
Schuysken, Governor, 275.
Schwabel, 362.
Schwenkfelders, 11.
Schwinn, Daniel, 267.
Scotland, 303, 486, 500.
Scott, 351.
Scott, Hutchinson, 211.
Scott, Mrs. Hutchinson, 212, 223.
Scottish Missionary Society, 201.
Sehlen, Moravia, 10.
Seidel, Nathaniel, 170.
Seifferth, Anthony, 80.
Self-Support Synod, 481.
Senecas, 91.
Senftleben, Moravia, 10.
Senseman, Joachim, 99, 112.
Senseman, Mrs., 100.
Senthea Creek, 123.
Serajevo, 503.
Serampore, 198.
Sergeant's River, 268.
Seven Years' War, 99, 101f, 188.
Shallcross, Thomas, 51, 199.
Shamans, 398.
Shamokin, Pa., 93, 95, 99, 101.
Sharon, Barbados, 55f.
Sharon, Nicaragua, 336.

Sharon, Surinam, 119f.
Shaw, Thomas F., 452.
Shawanese Indians, 83, 93, 99.
Shawe, Becker, 371.
Shawe, Dr. Ernest, 364.
Shawe, Jackson, 485.
Sheda Mahinda, 455.
Shekomeko, New York, 85, 87, 90, 92-95, 102.
Shelley, 477.
Shikellimey, 93, 95, 97.
Shiloh, Cape Colony, 288-293, 296, 485.
Short History of Christian Missions, Smith's, 199.
Shussele's Picture, 104.
Siberia, 357.
Siebörger, 337.
Signal Hill, Tobago, 55f.
Sikonge, Unyamwezi, 454, 458.
Siksigak, 145.
Siloah, 384, 508.
Simmonds, The, 79, 186, 198.
Single Brethren's Song, Zinzendorf's, 47.
Skrop, 46.
Slavery, Abolition of, 216.
Slavery, Moravian attitude towards, 195-197.
Smith, 311.
Smith, George, 199.
Smith, Mrs., 266.
Smith, R. Brough, 349.
Smith, Sir Harry, 291.
Snaife, Hon. D., 211.
Snelgrave, Captain William, 195.
Social Evolution, Kidd's, 354.
Society for Christian Fellowship, 201.
Society for the Advancement of Civilisation and Christianity, 87.
S.F.C.K., 486.
S.F.G., 134f, 139, 195, 218, 304-308, 468, 475, 478, 482, 485.
S.P.C.K., 8.
S.P.G. (American Moravian), 189, 394, 468, 478, 485, 504.
S.P.G. (Anglican), 20, 79, 174, 181.
S.P.G. (North Carolina), 486.
Somerset, Lord Charles, 289.
Sonderend, The, 279.
Sonderman, 225.
Sophia, Princess, 40.
Sorcerers, 58, 106, 122f, 220, 246, 295, 299, 348, 401, 450 (see also Angegoks).
Sörensen, John, 23, 74, 237.
Soukias, 325, 327f, 332, 336.
South Australian Women's Missionary Association, 428.
Southon, Dr., 452.
Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb, 78, 80ff, 85, 87, 92f, 99, 101, 115, 117, 142, 169f, 173, 187, 189, 192, 194, 196, 198, 247, 267, 475, 498.
Spener, Philip, 4f.
Spieseke, William, 346, 351.
Spieseke, Mrs., 351.
Spitti, 362.
Springplace, Georgia, 246, 248.
Srinagar, 507.
St. Bernadino Hills, 409.
St. Croix, 38, 41, 48f, 166, 173, 199, 231, 509.
St. Eustace, 46, 490.
St. Jacinto, 408.
St. Jacinto Hills, 409.
St. James, Parish of, Jamaica, 213f, 220.
St. John, 36, 48f, 231, 509.
St. John's, Antigua, 53, 56.
St. John's, Newfoundland, 302, 304, 512.
St. Kitts, 50, 55f, 193, 199, 231.
St. Madeleine, Trinidad, 234.
St. Petersburg, 156, 159f.
St. Thomas, 11, 15ff, 21, 25, 27-32, 34ff, 38, 41, 43, 45ff, 49, 118, 148, 166, 170, 173, 181, 186, 188, 230, 463, 498, 502, 509.
Stach, Anna, 72, 76.
Stach, Christian, 59, 68.
Stach, Matthew, 10, 43, 57, 59, 68-74, 76f, 131, 169, 173, 186, 237.
Stahlmann, George, 175.
Steenbrans River, 130.
Stellenbosch, 273.
Stephen, Native Helper, 238f.
Stephen Prins, Schneider's, 484.
Stern, Rudolph, 454f, 457.
Stevenson, R. L., 276.
Stobgyes, 359, 366.
Stockholm, 155.
Stoffels, 292f.
Stok, Western Tibet, 360.
Stoll, Rudolph, 123f, 181.
Stollberg, Countess of, 24.
Stompjes, Wilhelmina, 289f, 293.
Stromness, 303.
Sturges, 489.
Sturgis, Joseph, 100.
Stuttgart, 477.

Succinct View of the Missions, La Trobe's, 194.
Suez, 162.
Suka, Alaska, 394.
Sullivan, Superintendent, 414.
Sultanpur, 357.
Summer Ride through Western Tibet, A, Duncan's, 365.
Sumu Indians, 326f, 337.
Sunbury, 95.
Surinam, 11, 20, 23, 117, 119, 121-125, 166, 170f, 175, 177, 185, 188ff, 193, 201, 250-265, 326, 328, 348, 449, 469, 473, 478, 480, 482, 485, 493, 499, 502, 504f, 510.
Surinam River, 121, 123, 256.
Susquehannah River, 97, 103.
Sutlej River, 357, 507.
Swabia, 11.
Sweden, 12, 155.
Sweet Milk Valley, 129, 174, 267.
Swiss Moravians, 375, 377, 438.
Switzerland, 486.
Sydney, 416f.
Synodal Results (1857), 463.
Synods, General, 153, 187, 189-193, 202, 243, 259, 266, 323, 342, 346, 375, 437, 463-467, 469f, 473-503.

Tabase, Tembuland, 288, 293.
Tabitha of Nicaragua, 333.
Table Bay, South Africa, 272.
Tabora, Unyamwezi, 454, 457f.
Täger, Andrew F. C., 346, 349f.
Talmud, The, 149f.
Tambookies, 291.
Tanganyika Territory, 437, 490, 508.
Tapanahone River, 121.
Tappe, Frederick, 374, 376.
Tappus, 28, 37, 39, 44, 230.
Tapunlaya, Nicaragua, 330.
Tari Chand, 363.
Tartars, The, 164, 202.
Taylor, David, 199.
Taylor, John, 286.
Teluca Mountains, 333.
Tembuland, South Africa, 288, 293ff.
Teunessen, Major, 267, 273ff.
Text-Book, 16, 18, 172f, 251, 395, 419.
Thames, The, Canada, 246.
Through Flood and Storm, Davey's, 484.
Thuringia, 21.
Thursday Island, 418f, 426f, 433.
Tiaga, 97.
Tibet, Chinese, 357f.
Tibet, Western, 159, 357-373, 465, 473, 484, 489, 496f, 499, 506.
Timothy, 6.
Tinana, Hlubiland, 288, 298.
Tischendorf, 154.
To all the World, 484.
Tobago, 50, 55f, 199, 233, 475.
Toms Tschatchi, 81.
Tongulas, The, 326.
Torgersen, John, 395.
Tornea, 155.
Torngak, 64, 139ff, 144.
Torres Straits Pilot, 427f, 436.
Tortola, 186.
Towkas, The, 326.
Towle, Samuel, 199.
Townsville, Australia, 418.
Tozer, Hon. Horace, 417, 432, 499.
Training Colleges, 83, 232, 261, 299, 446f, 470, 482.
Training Schools, 223, 225, 280, 391, 447, 458, 481.
Tranquebar, 5-8, 23, 165f, 174f, 188, 190, 266.
Tri-lok-nath, 358.
Trinidad, 234.
Trollope, Anthony, 346.
Trombone Hill (see Posaunenberg).
Tropical Africa, Drummond's, 440.
Tschoop, 86ff, 90, 92, 188.
Tubingen, 78.
Tucker, Charlotte, 490.
Tughavina, 139-145.
Tulpehocken, Pa., 91f.
Tuluksak, Alaska, 403.
Turkey, 12, 383f, 504, 507.
Turkeyen, Demerara, 391.
Turner, 490.
Turner, Bishop, 284.
Turner, William, 136, 199.
Turtle Tribe, 97.
Tuscarawas River, 106ff, 186.
Tuscarawas Valley, 115.
Tuscaroras, 91.
Twappi, Nicaragua, 336.
Twistwyk, South Africa, 281.
Two-Mile Wood, Jamaica, 51, 208.
Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyassaland, Hamilton's, 437.
Tyers, Lake, 355.
Tylden, Major, 291f.
Tyrall, Jamaica, 214.

Ujiji, 457.
Ulassa, or Evil Spirits, 327.
Uleaborg, 155.
Ulrich, Abraham, 16, 25, 29, 37.

Ulrich, Anna, 16, 25, 29, 37.
Ulrich, Antony, 15f, 19, 25, 27f, 57.
Umanak, Greenland, 236, 243.
Umlakasa's Prophecy, 292.
Umlangeni's War, 291.
Ungava Bay, 303.
United Free Church of Scotland, 451, 508.
United States, 208, 345, 394, 406, 408, 490, 500, 503f.
Unity's Elders' Conference, 192, 464f, 474f, 479-482.
Unyamwezi, 452-458, 466, 473, 489, 497, 502, 508.
Urambo, 452ff, 457.
Ursinus, 9.
Usafwa, 439, 444, 448, 452.
Usoke, Unyamwezi, 454.
Utengule, Nyassa, 444, 448, 450.

Vailima Memories, Stevenson's, 276.
Van Calker, Th., 264.
Venezuela, 490.
Venice, 477.
Victoria, 276, 346-356, 416, 465, 473, 479, 484, 489, 499.
Victoria Nyanza, Lake, 452f, 490.
Victoria, Queen, 322, 352, 499.
Vienna, 353, 361, 477.
Visitations, Official, 169, 264, 308, 474, 504.
Volga River, 159.
Voullaire, Bishop, 260.

Waldenberg, Prince, 489.
Walder, Heinrich, 228, 355.
Walder, John R., 237.
Walker, Patrick, 322.
Wallachia, 158, 201.
Walpasiksa, Nicaragua, 330.
Walpole, Lady, 487.
Wanderings of a Spiritualist, Doyle's, 354.
Wanhatti, Surinam, 257.
Wanica, Surinam, 252.
Wanks River, 321, 343.
War of Independence, American, 103, 110, 114, 246.
War of the Axe, 291.
Ward, Bishop Arthur, 420, 428, 484.
Ward, James, 416-431, 436, 500.
Ward, Mrs., 418, 420f, 426, 430ff, 435f, 506.
Warneck, Dr. Gustav, 186.
Warnow, Matthew, 236.
Washington, George, 191, 499.
Wasla, Nicaragua, 336.
Waterloo, Surinam, 255.
Waters, Mary, 324.
Watson, Samuel, 199.
Watteville, Frederick de, 7f.
Watteville, John de, 170, 192.
Webb-Peploe, Prebendary, 487.
Weber, Mrs., 364.
Weber, George, 43ff.
Wechquadnach, 95.
Weiniger, 162.
Weinland, William, 394f, 398f, 409-415, 497, 500.
Weipa, North Queensland, 435.
Weiss, Henry, 255.
Weisser, Conrad, 90.
Wellington, Lake, 352.
Weltz, Baron von, 5.
Wernigerode, 11, 24.
Wesley, John, 47, 79f, 134, 186, 198.
Wesleyans, 502.
West Indian Company, Danish, 25, 30.
West Indies, Danish, 12, 19f, 23-49, 170, 176, 188f, 191, 193, 196, 201f, 230-235, 449, 463f, 466f, 470, 473, 479, 482f, 486, 491-494, 496, 499, 504, 509f.
West Indies, British, 23, 50-56, 166, 170, 189, 196, 198, 201f, 230-235, 463f, 466f, 470, 473, 478, 482f, 491-494, 496, 499, 504, 509f.
West Indies, Montgomery's, 30.
Westerby, George Wall, 232f.
Westfield, Kansas, 248.
Wetterau, The, 73f, 147, 500.
White Eyes, 109f.
Wied, 23.
Wilberforce, William, 165, 195ff, 475, 487.
Wilhelmina, Queen, 255.
Willem, 129f.
Williamsfield, Jamaica, 214.
Williamson, Colonel, 113.
Willock, Henry, 322.
Wilson, James, 311.
Wimmera, Lake, 346.
Wimmera, Willie, 352.
Windsor, Jamaica, 210.
Winkel, The, 250f.
Wintimen, 122, 257.
Wironje River, 117.
Witkliebosch, South Africa, 281.
Wittenberg, 8f.
Wittewater, South Africa, 281.
Wolf Tribe, 109.
Women's National Indians' Association, 408f.

Woodlands, Jamaica, 225.
Woodmount, U.S.A., 248.
Woolwas, The, 326.
Woosley, David, 413.
Worcester, Jamaica, 214.
Work among the Lepers, La Trobe's, 374.
World Missionary Conference, 436, 501.
Wounta, Nicaragua, 330.
Wrightson, Dr., 489.
Wyandots, 111.
Wyoming Valley, Pa., 83, 193.

Xentu River, South Africa, 294.

Yarkand, 489.
Yorkshire Society, 478.
Young People's Missionary League, 497.
Yulu, Nicaragua, 336, 338.

Zambesi Industrial Mission, 492.
Zander, 175.
Zauchtenthal, Moravia, 10, 22, 79.
Zeisberger, David, 10, 79, 94-99, 102-112, 114ff, 169, 182, 189f, 246, 249, 398.
Zeist, Holland, 76, 154, 183, 500.
Zeist Missionary Society, 486.
Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte, 184.
Zelaya, Nicaragua, 340, 345.
Zelaya, President, 339, 343.
Zenana Work, 364.
Zibi, 288, 296-299, 499.
Ziegenbalg, Bartholomew, 5, 7f, 126.
Zinzendorf, Nicholas Louis, Count of, 3-17, 19-23, 38f, 43-49, 52, 57, 59, 65f, 72-75, 78f, 84, 90-96, 98, 117f, 129ff, 146-149, 152-162, 164f, 167-188, 190-194, 198, 201, 307, 449, 464, 473, 475, 480, 485, 488, 497f, 501.
Zinzendorf in the Wetterau, 147.
Zinzendorf und Die Brüdergemeine, 167.
Zoar, Labrador, 300.
Zorn, Jacob, 216-219, 222, 481.

Printers:
William Walker & Sons (Otley) Limited,
Printerdom,
Otley.

(dupe).
BV
2560
H9
Hutton
A History of
Moravian Missions
728345
MAY
JAN 27 '36
MAR 2 '38
MAR 8
MAY 2
P. H. Brown
3-29-54
4-14-51
OCT 1
Robert S. Keck 1/21

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

11 366 157

BV
2560
H9

SWIFT HALL LIBRARY